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29 JUNE 1987

WEST EUROPE

CONTENTS

POLITICAL

CYPRUS

- Democratic Left Party Calls for Action on Varosha
(TERCUMAN, 9 Apr 87) 1

DENMARK/GREENLAND

- Paper Comments on Election Results
(GRONLANDSPOSTEN, 27 May 87) 2
- Landsting's New Membership 2
- Call for 'Grand Coalition', Editorial 3

FINLAND

- Sorsa, Social Democrats Ponder Changes in Wake of Defeat
(HENSINGIN SANOMAT, various dates) 5
- SDP Newspapers, Professor Comment, Editorial 5
- 'Tough Self-Criticism', Editorial 6
- Party Leadership Views Program 7
- Idealistic Youth Seen Disappointed 9
- Paper on Party Program, Editorial 11
- Poll: Socialism Losing Attraction 12
- Sorsa Seeks Leadership Changes 15
- Swedish Reporter Examines Political, Economic Dilemmas
(Ake Sparring; SVENSKA DAGBLADET, 29 Mar 87) 16

GREECE

Poll Results on Politicians' Popularity (EMBISTEVTIKO GRAMMA, 29 Apr 87)	21
---	----

Briefs

Serepisios' Retirement	22
------------------------------	----

NORWAY

Communist Party Press Organ Reports on Congress (FRIHETEN, various dates)	23
Support for Gorbachev, by Bjorn Johannessen	23
Policy Resolutions Adopted	25
Paper Comments on Program, Editorial by Arne Jorgensen	28
New Leadership Assessed, Editorial	29

PORTUGAL

Political Parties' Personalities in Ascent, Descent (O JORNAL, 15 May 87)	31
No Autonomy Seen Permitted in Left (Jose Antonio Saraiva; O JORNAL, 16 May 87)	40

SPAIN

Former PCE Secretary General Speaks on Various Subjects (Santiago Carrillo Interview; EPOCA, 11 May 87)	42
--	----

SWEDEN

Paper Examines Trends in Poll of Party Leaders' Popularity (Hans O. Alfredsson; SVENSKA DAGBLADET, 5 Apr 87)	49
Werner Reelected at VPK Congress But LSW Feud Continues (DAGENS NYHETER, various dates)	54
Applauds USSR, Attacks SDP, by Ake Ekdahl	54
Plan for Collective Leadership, by Ake Ekdahl	55
Paper Comments on Challenge, Editorial	57
Goteborg District Supports Werner, by Kirstin Sedvallson	58
Norrbotten Delegation Backs Werner	59
Background To Current Problems, by Ake Ekdahl	60
Werner Addresses Congress, by Ake Ekdahl	64
Power Fight Remains Undecided, Editorial	66
Paper on Werner Reelection, Editorial	67
Werner Leader Slate Rejected, by Ake Ekdahl	69
Heated Debate Over Elections, by Kaa Eneberg	71
Support for Werner, by Kaa Eneberg	72

MILITARY

DENMARK

Admiral Criticizes SDP Security Policy Proposals (I. B. Rodholm; AKTUEL, 18 May 87)	74
Conscripts Having Increasing Difficult Completing Training (Hans Larsen; AKTUEL, 17 May 87)	78
Officers Association Book: Fleet Becoming Obsolete (Nils Eric Boesgaard; BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 30 May 87)	83
Soldiers, Civil Defense Personnel Getting ABC Warfare Suits (Nils Eric Boesgaard; BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 15 May 87)	87
Armed Forces Command Studying Replacement of Centurion Tanks (Neb; BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 17 May 87)	88

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Rheinmetall Under Suspicion in Iran Arms Sales (DER SPIEGEL, 11 May 87)	89
--	----

SWEDEN

Army Commander Urges Shorter Conscript Training (Anders Ohman; DAGENS NYHETER, 15 May 87)	93
Officers' Early Departure From Armed Forces Remains Problem (Micke Jaresand; DAGENS NYHETER, 15 May 87)	97
Officers Association Cites Reasons for Early Departures (Anders Ohman; DAGENS NYHETER, 16 May 87)	98

SPAIN

CAD-CAM Company Seeks Part of McDonnell Douglas Contract (MERCADO, 8 May 87)	100
---	-----

ECONOMIC

FINLAND

Paper Views Problems Needing Decision by New Government (Editorial; UUSI SUOMI, 13 Apr 87)	102
Paper Comments on Improving Unemployment Picture (Editorial; HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 21 Apr 87)	105
Exports Expected To Decline in 1987 (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 25 Apr 87)	107

Neste Chief Concerned USSR Trade Based Too Heavily on Crude Oil (HELSINGIN SANOMAT, 25 Apr 87)	109
GREECE	
Briefs	
Strikes' Economic Costs	111
NETHERLANDS	
Gasunie Sees Further Drop in Natural Gas Revenues (ANP NEWS BULLETIN, 11 May 87)	112
SOCIAL	
EUROPEAN AFFAIRS	
Turkish Becomes Compulsory Language in FRG Schools (TERCUMAN, 25 Mar 87)	114
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY	
Measures Taken To Curb Illegal Employment (FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 28 Apr 87)	115
/7310	

DEMOCRATIC LEFT PARTY CALLS FOR ACTION ON VAROSHA

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 9 Apr 87 p 8

[Text] Ankara (MEDITERRANEAN NEWS AGENCY) - DLP (Democratic Left Party General Chairman Rahsan Ecevit harshly criticized interference of the U.S. Congress in the Cyprus problem. "If agreement cannot be reached for a federal solution within the framework of the UN secretary general's proposals, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus ought to announce that it will open Varosha to settlement and will put the tourist facilities in Varosha into operation," she said.

Stressing that the Turkish Cypriots rightly favor a federal solution, DLP General Chairman Rahsan Ecevit noted that interference by the U.S. Congress would lead to adoption of an even more intransigent attitude against this solution by Greece. She said that U.S. interference may bring the Soviet Union further into the problem and that this would completely block progress toward a solution. Ecevit said it would be meaningless for Varosha to remain empty under these circumstances and added:

"It was inevitable that the U.S. Congress would take such a step after its recent behavior. American aid has already been cut back as far as it can go. Further cuts in aid in reaction to steps taken in connection with Varosha would be worse for the United States and NATO than Turkey.

"Setting a date and making the announcement that we propose in connection with Varosha is the last and only way to mitigate the stubborn behavior of the Greek and Greek Cypriot side and warn those who have the temerity to interfere in the Cyprus problem from the outside. This opportunity must be grasped without further delay."

8349

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PAPER COMMENTS ON ELECTION RESULTS

Landsting's New Membership

Godthaab GRØNLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 27 May 87 p 2

[Text] The new Landsting that has now been elected is composed of the following:

South District:

SIUMUT: Jonathan Motzfeldt and Hendrik Nielsen.

ATASSUT: Peter Ostermann and Torben Emil Lyng.

INUIT ATAQATIGIIT: Tuusi Motzfeldt.

Center District:

ATASSUT: Lars Chemnitz, Otto Steenholdt, Emilie Lennert and Niels Carlo Heilmann.

SIUMUT: Lars Emil Johansen, Moses Olsen and Jens Lyberth.

INUIT ATAQATIGIIT: Aqqaluk Lyng and Henriette Rasmussen (supplementary seat).

ISSITTUP PARTIIA: Nikolai Heinrich (supplementary seat).

Disko District:

ATASSUT: Konrad Steenholdt, Knud Sørensen and Holger Sivertsen (supplementary seat).

SIUMUT: Preben Lange and Hans Iversen.

INUIT ATAQATIGIIT: Jens Geisler.

Uummannaq:

SIUMUT: Mikael Petersen.

Upernavik:

SIUMUT: Bendt Frederiksen.

ATASSUT: Godmand Jensen (supplementary seat).

Avanersuaq:

SIUMUT: Uusaqqak Qujaukitsoq.

Tasiilaq:

ATASSUT: Jakob Sivertsen.

Ittoqqortoormiit:

SIUMUT: Jonas Danielsen.

On the figures of the election it may be said that Atassut has regained its role as Greenland's largest party with a total of 10,043 votes. Siumut got 9,980 votes, Inuit Ataqatigiit 3,823 votes, and Issittup Partiia got 1,119 votes. The Candidate League ISAI got a total of 95 votes.

A total of 25,765 voters turned up at the polls, and that is equivalent to a voting percentage of 70.

Call for 'Grand Coalition'

Godthaab GRØNLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 27 May 87 p 4

[Editorial: "VOTERS REJECTING WISHES OF SEPARATION"]

[Text] The voters have now spoken, and their clear message goes to Jonathan Motzfeldt and Aqqaluk Lynge. It says in simple terms: Charge Ahead! A total of 70 percent of the country's population entitled to vote have played the game of democracy and said a clear No to the wish for political separation which released prematurely Greenland's second election.

The combination of figures of 11-11-4-1 establishes that there is still no party that is able on its own to undertake the government responsibility with any reasonable prospect of success.

Undoubtedly, after this election as well there will be demands for "the big coalition," i.e., a government composed of Siumut and Atassut.

The demand is undoubtedly well-intentioned, but after two lost opportunities it is a model we do not trust. The negotiations prior to the issuing of writs for the election showed that the differences are greater than the similarities between the two parties.

And the fact should not be overlooked either that the voters gave Inuit Ataqatigiit an extra seat in this election. That is a declaration of confidence which neither of "the two old parties" can be proud of. And this declaration of confidence will have to be accepted, recognizing that a government without Inuit Ataqatigiit will be in conflict with the rules of the game for a representative democracy.

That is why one has to be a more than ordinarily gifted politician to find a way out that will not involve a new coalition of Siumut and Inuit Ataqatigiit!

On the 12 members of the Landsting remaining after the formation of a government according to democratic principles, one may make the following comment, without offending anybody: Nikolai Henrich and his party did not get the power they intended, but that does not mean that the party will be without importance in the coming 4 years. On the contrary. Issittup Partiia's most important task will be to encourage Atassut to play a constructive role as an opposition party. So far, hardly any party has played the role of Opposition.

7262

CS0: 3613/100

SORSA, SOCIAL DEMOCRATS PONDER CHANGES IN WAKE OF DEFEAT

SDP Newspapers, Professor Comment

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 25 Mar 87 p 11

[Editorial Roundup: "SDP Sulking"]

[Text] On Tuesday SDP papers published numerous thoughts about the party's defeat. In TURUN PAIVALEHTI Professor Allan Rosas and city counselor Reino Breili sought scapegoats for SDP's defeat. Both identify the cause of the defeat as internal sulking and jealousy.

Rosas describes the internal atmosphere of SDP as malicious.

"In the first place everything is hindered by the insufficiency of ideological principles and goals. Sometimes we assure the public of our humbleness but even a small success goes easily to our heads and gives outsiders an image of the party as a haughty ruling party. To put it briefly much is left to be desired in spiritual liveliness and openness as well as in internal solidarity."

Breili complains about the support of the trade unions for their own candidates. In Turku's southern electoral district the Union of Metalworkers got two of its own representatives through.

"The paid functionaries of the Metalworkers are strongly engaged in pushing their union candidates as the people's representatives. Their activity can not be described as slight for it has been so visible and forceful lately. Our district organization can never offer our other candidates comparable opportunities.

"How will this activity affect the candidates' equality of opportunity to become public representatives in the future? How will this procedure affect the larger public and what kind of effect will these measures have on the voting public?"

Baby Bonus Bubble

Professor Aulis Aarnio criticizes in the KANSAN LEHTI a proposal to triple baby bonuses made by the SDP during the final lap of the election battle.

"If we are going into an ideological election we should stay with the ideological election til the end. There is no point in letting the rabbit out of the bag and offering the public leftovers. This is what the raising of the baby bonuses would amount to. Not a single examinee could reply to those irksome questions which stripped the proposal of its election disguise. These kinds of tactics do not sway people nowadays. Families with children should be remembered throughout the election period and not only two weeks before the elections."

"Quite simply SDP has not been able place issues in their proper order of importance from the public's point of view. Paternalistic explanation of how well the state has been cared for does not impress any more as the care has been continued long enough."

'Tough Self-Criticism'

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 26 Mar 87 p 16

[Editorial: "SDP's Severe Self-Criticism"]

Opinion polls forecast SDP's defeat already before the parliamentary elections. The final result, however, seems to have come as quite a knockout for both the party leadership as well as the rank and file. This is well revealed by the chaotic situation in which SDP now finds itself. The loss of 100,000 votes has let loose an unusually strong wave of self-criticism within the party. The party's main organ sets an example in this: it is allowing ample column space for the ventilation of feelings.

The SDP led by Kalevi Sorsa and Erkki Liikanen consciously concentrated its electioneering efforts to the two weeks preceeding the elections. Sorsa especially stressed that the question was of party line elections and relegated ideological discussions to an afterthought. However, in the final crush of the election battle the proposal about raising baby bonuses became the party's strongest drawing card. It became the election's most discussed theme, but not in the sense that SDP had originally intended.

The end results of the election show that the baby bonus propaganda did not raise support for the SDP, and it is possible that the battering the proposal received during the TV examination only hastened SDP's downfall. Yet it is clear that the baby bonus fiasco is not sufficient to explain SDP's election defeat.

The reasons are deeper: in the longterm responsibility for government which becomes personified in Kalevi Sorsa, who has served as prime minister for nearly 10 years, in the energy tax reform, strike fines, pensions, and in many other smaller decisions. It is certain that estrangement also took its toll. A politician looking at the affairs of the country from the government imperceptibly picks up a language which oversteps the tolerance threshold of the voter.

Among the SDP rank a strong oppositional mood prevails. Sorsa himself led the way in this direction with his first evaluations following the elections. It is worth noting, however, that neither Sorsa nor Liikanen have said anything final about government. Continued interest in and even readiness to join the government can be read from between the lines of the SDP leadership pronouncements.

This is as it should be. The goal of the parties is to get into the government. Besides SDP has other reasons. It most likely has in front of it four bitter opposition years, if it is now remains outside the government - and even after that there are no guarantees of its getting into the government. In its self-criticism SDP should take into consideration the fact that the new base for government might become a longterm phenomenon. If the Conservative and Center Party learn to sit together in the same government, why should they consciously begin to woo SDP for company?

At least the Center Party is now ready to bar SDP altogether from the government, and the Conservatives are unlikely to shed any tears over it either. In addition the momentum of the Center Party is so great that the country could have a bourgeois government before the SDP wallowing in self-criticism can get its act even partly together.

The situation is especially difficult for the party leadership because SDP will have its party caucus in the summer. Even if the parliamentary strength of the party decreased by only one seat it will be difficult to avoid criticism. Liikanen, especially, is in danger of being put on the firing line. How should the party begin to function in this situation, against the mood of the rank and file and the course of the government, even if the party considered, in spite of everything, a long drawn out opposition battle to be the most reasonable alternative?

Party Leadership Views Program

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 27 Mar 87 p 16

[Article: "SDP Leadership Abbreviated its Basic Program

[Text] SDP's basic program was cut considerably in a party leadership discussion. On Thursday SDP's board approved a proposal to be sent to the representatives of the party caucus as its basic program.

The proposal by the program committee led by Chairman Kalevi Sorsa was criticized by the rank and file as being too long and difficult to understand. The presiding officers whittled down the old program. No new emphases were added to the proposal.

The intention is to approve the new program in June at the party caucus to be held in Helsinki. The present SDP program had been approved in 1952. The program under preparation is the party's fourth. The new program has been under preparation for eight years.

SDP announces that it is building "a society of democratic socialism, in which all citizens have equal opportunities for realizing their human potentials." In economic policy SDP believes in markets which support and guide the development of national economy. National economy, however, requires planning based on the consideration of the common good. The state must have the ability to guide the operations of financial, insurance and credit institutions and to own them.

In the earlier version the demand for guidance was based on the negative effects of the concentration of private ownership. In the party leadership presentation the explanations were left out.

The program treads softly in the treatment of the states own entrepreneurial development. The state-led ventures are a stable part of the economy and their development is for the common good. The program's stand on entrepreneurial democracy and wage earner funds has been adjusted several times. Now demands are made that the enterprises must possess "worker-controlled capital funds in common." No detailed stand on the funds can be found in the program.

Employers will be required to reach agreements with local trade unions about significant changes in production, investment and training.

Full Employment on the List

The program stresses the old objective of guaranteeing full employment. A job can be guaranteed for everyone by directing economic development, modifying the division of labor and changing work content.

The new program also shows a green light for fashionable demands for minimum wages and guaranteed employment.

"The concept of work must be expanded to include different modes of self-realization, serving ones' fellow men and building society. This requires flexible earning methods from the point of view of guaranteed employment."

The program announces itself to be in support of democracy and in opposition to dictatorship. "Social Democracy is politically tied to democracy in its representational, parliamentary and multi-party based foundation."

The demand for the separation of Church and State derives from the old Forssa program.

Language Rights Must be Protected

A language-political stand for Swedish language rights has been added as a new part in the program. "The language rights of the Swedish-speaking population must be protected."

According to SDP the inequality between the sexes must be removed. All should have the same rights and duties in work, family and society.

In addition to basic necessities people must have the rights to culture and knowledge. "The uneven distribution of knowledge leads to inequality. The school system must be restructured to remedy this."

The communications media shoulder a great responsibility for the development of people's world view. "Every person's world view is generated in large part from the information, attitudes and evaluations which the printed word and electronic communications convey to him. A communication system which allows equal freedom of speech to every individual is a necessary prerequisite for a participatory democracy."

Trade Union Movement Contra Capital

The international part of the program stresses the significance of international trade unionism and socialist internationalism. A counterforce against the multi-national corporations must be forged from the cooperative efforts of the trade unions.

People are advised to live in harmony with nature. "Individuals and society should strive for a way of life which allows for high quality of life without posing a threat to nature."

SDP proclaims itself as the movement of living democracy. People may become supporters of the movement through different paths. SDP expects its members to follow the principles of the party in their work.

"Social democracy follows in its own activities the ideals and democratic procedures it recommends for the whole society. Every member has the responsibility to see that his behavior is in harmony with the basic principles of the movement."

Idealistic Youth Seen Disappointed

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 27 Mar 87 p 16

[Article: "SDP's Work Fell Short"]

[Text] Risto Kolanen is a young red-green Social Democrat. In the internal books of SDP he is placed on the left side. In his own opinion he is an ultra-Social Democrat, a carrier of the old labor movement tradition. The peace movement has left its own mark on his ideology.

Kolanen has been disappointed in the SDP's basic program presentation. It is timid, frightened and submissive beforehand. Kolanen compares the program to the governmental programs written by many other political parties. SDP has already compromised its principles with the others. The presentation does not contain a single new proposal.

The SDP program is practically a lifetime task for Risto Kolanen. The young man will not get a chance to rewrite the program as it will be renewed only after decades. Kolanen has been writing drafts for a new program for years in

a committee led by Kalevi Sorsa. The efforts that began so enthusiastically and promisingly ran out of steam on the final lap.

"The basic program committee was away from the writing of the program for over a year. Only in February did we get a draft from the party leadership for consideration. It was quickly bulldozed through the committee."

Three members of the committee left their dissenting opinions in the proposal. Seven members will publish their own proposal shortly. The program proposal was created in cooperation by the party office and party economists. It was written as in a laboratory divorced from everyday politics."

Models in international politics should be sought from the social democratic parties of West Germany and England, which have , under pressure from the new peace movement, given up the old military policies based on nuclear weapons and armaments. The party does not have to fit narrowly into the framework of the official foreign policy.

Kolanen is also puzzled by the program chapter on economic principles. The proposal is blind to national economy. The priority district division made by the commercial banks should at least have awakened one to note the use of power by the banks.

"The program should demand directly the takeover of commercial banks, insurance companies, medical industries and pharmacies by the society. It is a practical matter. The common good of society demands the redirection of capital. It is an old tradition of the labor movement that one should not make money out of other people's illness."

Keeping with the old Forssa program the modern program should have an itemized list of ten clear goals. The earlier program versions had broad considerations about self determination and rule by the people. In the party leadership proposal these program parts have been edited to short paragraphs.

"The proposal's view of the relationship between socialism and democracy is left hanging. Although it is the fundamental aim of Social Democrats to unite Socialism and Democracy, this is hardly comprehensible from the proposal. Political democracy is taken in a given ready-made form. Socialism is left as a vague reference without the direction provided by the concrete content of national economy."

During the start of the program work at the turn of the decade the social democrats were also shaking themselves. The party was accused of being too closely tied to the state machinery. There was a race to find examples of frozen state machinery from the party itself. The party became crazed over the Koivisto phenomenon.

"Now one can see the return to the old ways in the program proposal. No more self-criticism is presented. Even in the internal functions of the party there is a effort to limit influence only to that conveyed through the state or the municipalities. People are no longer even motivated to group efforts through

May Day parades or peace marches. There is a fear of being labeled a Communist and a hedgehog-like defensive stance."

Risto Kolanen places his hope on the participants of the June party caucus. The party leadership wrote its proposal primarily before the parliamentary elections, although it was formally approved after the elections in the party committee.

After the election defeat the feelings at the Helsinki party caucus could be quite different. If SDP activates its opposition role at the party caucus, it will have to sharpen its program proposals.

Paper on Party Program

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 28 Mar 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Program by the Party in Power"]

[Text] The final draft of the SDP's basic program graphically illustrates how difficult it is for the Social Democratic Party, turned into a party in power, to characterize its own identity in modern society. From the program discussions lasting for years, really only a skeleton remains: lacking are both the spirit and the substance.

The renewal of the basic program proposal in itself is well grounded. The present program dates from 1952; since then both the world and the SDP have changed greatly. In preparing the new program the time interval was set for the length of a generation. It shuts out contemporay orientations and objective settings. On the other hand the program work has been seen as an opportunity for the long-term chairman Kalevi Sorsa to place his mark in the history of the party's ideological development.

The final result causes us to predict that Sorsa's place in the history of his party will be determined more by his long stint as a prime minister and by other accomplishments in practical politics rather than by his ideological orientation.

A colorful and enthusiastic luncheon discussion took place three years ago at a Lahti caucus concerning the program proposal. But in the decisive phase of committing them to writing the difficulties in joining the fresh ideological lines with the role of a government caretaker proved insurmountable.

The great visions of self governing socialism have evaporated. Clear stands on several questions formerly so central for the Social Democrats have turned circular or they have been bypassed altogether. In its new guise the program has constricted to nearly half of its former draft length, which has only added to its vagueness and lack of spirit. In the light of the program SDP's lack of vigour is not explainable simply as governing ennui.

With its new program SDP is situated among the most moderate parties among the Social Democrats of western Europe.

SDP admits and approves the significance of markets as the regulators of national economy. However, one needs regulation and planning as their counterparts to protect the common weal. It has been said of the many meanings of socialism that "the state has to be able to direct the functioning of financial, insurance and credit institutions and to own them." The development and expansion of the state's entrepreneurial activity is seen as working for the common good of the people.

The demand for the creation of worker controlled "capital funds" within the enterprises is a new twist. Representation is sought for the workers within the governing organs of the enterprises as well as decision making power concerning changes in production, investment and education. Alongside material well-being, spiritual well-being, quality of life and soft values are also being emphasized. The program thus also attempts to answer the challenge posed by the Greens.

The members of SDP have already long ago had to say good-bye to Marx and other socialist theoreticians. Now it suffices if one agrees that social inequalities should be ameliorated. Nor are the boundaries drawn in the direction of the Communists. The program is such a pale copy of the Lahti caucus leftovers that the SDP rank and file no doubt will get additional ammunition from it for the criticism of the party leadership at the June party caucus.

Poll: Socialism Losing Attraction

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 29 Mar 87 p 7

[Article: "Fewer Leftist Supporters Want Socialist Form of Economy"]

[Text] Half of the Finnish population is satisfied with the present economic system. A third would develop it more in the direction of market economy and only 11 percent of our citizens in the direction of Socialism. Support for Socialism has dropped clearly also among supporters of the Left.

In February Finland's Gallup OY studied Finnish opinions about the direction in which they want our economic system to develop. The study was sponsored by HELSINGIN SANOMAT. The same questions were also posed nine years ago in 1978.

Voting age Finns were asked: "The present Finnish economic system has often been called a 'mixed economic system,' in which the state partly regulates economic activity. How should the state of the nation be developed in the future: more in the direction of socialism than at present, in which case the role of the state would be increased; more toward the market system in which case the role of the state would diminish, or is the situation acceptable according to you?"

50 percent of the Finns were of the opinion that the present situation is acceptable.

Nine years ago only 42 percent were satisfied with the conditions at that time.

The number of market system supporters has not changed. About 33 percent of the people would change the economy in that direction; nine years ago the figure was 34 percent.

Eleven percent of the people would develop the economy more toward socialism, in 1978 the figure was 18 percent. Of those under 25 years old only 5 percent are now for socialism.

Center Party Backs Present Economic System Most Strongly

Support for the Socialist economic system has decreased considerably among the Left. Of the Social Democrats only 17 percent would change the economy toward socialism. Nine years ago the figure was 31 percent. There are more Social Democrats now (57 percent) who are satisfied with things as they now are, than in 1978 (43 percent).

Of the People's Democrats less than half would turn the economic direction toward Socialism. During the previous poll 62 percent favored Socialism. About 17 percent of the People's Democrats would now develop the economy toward the market system.

The supporters of the minority Communist party Deva have been counted among the People's Democrats in the new poll so that comparison is possible. During the earlier study the Communists were still considered a separate group.

Most supporters of the market economy system can be found in the Conservative Party. Most satisfied with the present situation were the members of the Center Party.

Finnish Gallup interviewed 1,528 Finns between 22nd and 27th of February and asked their opinions about contemporary issues. The answers reflect the views of voting age Finns, with the exception of the Ahvenanmaa province.

1 MIELIPITEET TALOUSJÄRJESTELMÄN KEHITTÄMISEN PERUSSUUNNISTA



	1978 %	1987 %
2 Sosialistiseen suuntaan	18	11
3 Markkinatalousjärjestelmän suuntaan	34	33
4 Nykyinen tilanne sopiva	42	51
5 Ei osaa sanoa	6	5

	10 Sdp		11 Kok		12 Kesk		13 Skdl/ Deva	
	-78 %	-87 %	-78 %	-87 %	-78 %	-87 %	-78 %	-87 %
6 Sosialistiseen suuntaan	31	17	1	2	5	2	62	48
7 Markkinatalous- järjestelmän suuntaan	19	21	62	59	37	35	7	17
8 Nykyinen tilanne sopiva	43	57	34	39	54	61	24	33
9 Ei osaa sanoa	7	4	3	0	4	2	7	3

14 Ylempi taulukko kertoo suomalaisten käsitykset talousjärjestelmän kehittämissuunnista. Alempana kerrotaan, miten mielipiteet jakautuvat puolueittain. Mukana on neljä suurinta puoluetta. Vähemmistökommunistien Devan kannattajien mielipiteet on laskettu mukaan Skdl:n ryhmään.

KEY

1. Attitudes Toward Basic Directions of Economic Development
2. Toward Socialism
3. Toward a Market Economy
4. Present Situation Acceptable
5. Can Not Say
6. Toward Socialism
7. Toward a Market Economy
8. Present Situation Acceptable
9. Can Not Say
10. Social Democrats
11. Conservatives
12. Center Party
13. People's Democrats/Communists
14. The upper table reveals Finnish attitudes toward directions of economic development. The lower one shows how the opinions are distributed according to political party affiliation. Included are the four largest parties. The opinions of the minority communist party Deva supporters have been counted together with the People's Democrats.

Sorsa Seeks Leadership Changes

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 31 Mar 87 p 3

[Article: "Sorsa Wants New Faces for Leadership of Defeated SDP"]

[Text] The Chairman of SDP, Kalevi Sorsa, is demanding personnel changes in the leadership of his party. Sorsa, however, did not specify whether he also desired changing the party chairman.

Sorsa spoke on Monday in Helsinki at a Social Democrat district meeting in which the reasons for the SDP electoral defeat were analyzed.

The rejuvenation of the party after the defeat is the main task for the Social Democrats, even more important than questions about participating in the government, said Sorsa. According to Sorsa, the party must be able to renew itself. "But the renewal can not take place without affecting people," he said.

During communications emphasizing personality, the image of the party, according to Sorsa, must be such that it will also touch people outside the party.

The Social Democrats are having their party caucus in June during which they will also decide personnel questions. The party secretary Erkki Liikanen has announced that he will leave his post. In his behalf Sorsa already had time to rescind his threat to resign and promised to continue yet one more term.

Sorsa compared an offer to the SDP for the three large political parties to participate jointly in the government to a second-rate play by poor playwrights. "Two are leaving for a honeymoon and say to the third that why don't you also come along" is how Sorsa depicted the governing suggestions of the Conservative and Center Parties.

Sorsa severely criticized the Center Party's role in the government. Especially toward the end of his term in government the Center Party "launched extremely disloyal attacks against the SDP," said Sorsa.

12989

CSO: 3617/75

SWEDISH REPORTER EXAMINES POLITICAL, ECONOMIC DILEMMAS

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 29 Mar 87 Sect II p 7

[Commentary by Åke Sparring: "Finland and the World"]

[Text] It was at the meeting at Marski arranged on the eve of the election by the Foreign Ministry for the foreign reporters. An honored ambassador sought to sum up the situation:

"Sweden has foreign policy problems, yes, and Denmark and Norway, of course, also. But Finland, No."

Previously when Helsinki was invaded by foreign reporters, the reason used to be a more or less rapid deterioration of Finland's foreign relations. That is to say, Finland's relations with the Soviet Union.

Considerable interest was also devoted to the Communists, who had created a large and authoritative party. In the election it concealed itself behind the description "The Finnish People's Democratic League."

The election used to attract the interest of the world press to the extent that the subsequent government formation might conceivably lead to dramatic collisions between the principles of the state utility and cabinet responsibility.

Countries readily become cliches. The Finnish cliché was for a long time that the country, sooner or later, would disappear behind the Iron Curtain.

This year's parliamentary elections in Finland attracted a minimum amount of interest on the part of the media world outside the Nordic countries. This may be interpreted as an indication that the major Western media share the opinion of the ambassador that the drama is over.

Certainly this was the first time since World War II that Finland was in a position to go to the polls without any foreign policy tensions having been revealed--or developed. "The foreign policy is a race in which everybody has

the same goal," said Ilkka Holkeri, the presidential candidate of the Finnish People's Unification Party, the only conceivable dissident among the leading politicians. Finland has no need for disputes on foreign policy issues, he went on to say, nor was there any risk that differences of opinion might arise. The election slogan of the Social Democrats "Our Dream Is Friendship, a World in Unity" appeared, if anything, as a confirmation of this conservative statement.

The Feared Stalinists Had Become Comical

The threat of communism was also gone.

Well ahead of the election, the Communists had split into a domesticated left socialist majority and a confirmed Stalinist minority, in brief, acted in the same way as all other West European communist parties on their way toward their death. Both wings were expected to lose ground, both as far as votes and seats were concerned. The minority, moreover, had quite a lot of difficulty with Gorbachev's various reforms. They feared that the Stalinists had become comical.

However, no country can live so entirely without problems in our time. The ambassador probably did not think so either. As all Finns, when it comes to foreign policy issues, he probably had in mind the relations to the East. They seem without problems, almost amiable, if such is possible between states.

As far as domestic policy issues are concerned, the relations to the East are constantly problematic. Parties with good relations in Moscow easily gain a strength that does not correspond to their position among the electorate.

But they have learnt to live with those problems--and to handle them.

What to an outsider appears directly strange is the lack of interest that both parties and the general public show Finland's relations to the West. Here there is neither a lack of problems nor basis for any major differences of opinion the day decisions have to be made.

In the election the Communists lost many seats but largely held on to their voters. The Social Democrats lost a lot of voters but largely held on to their seats. The Conservative Party gained a few thousand votes and got nine new seats for it. Since also the other "traditional" nonsocialist parties gained, a solid, nonsocialist majority arose in parliament.

If the voters have got any say, it is about time for a change of government.

It goes without saying that the government and the president need good relations with the Kremlin. When Kekkonen resigned, many were concerned. Now even the opponents admit that Koivisto and Sorsa have done a first-rate job.

And that has given them a power that is not reflected in the election figures.

At first, in addition to the Communists, it was only the Center Party, or the Agrarians, as they were called at the time, that enjoyed the confidence of the Kremlin. Since the Communists on the other hand were distrusted by the 75 or 80 percent of the voters who did not vote for them, the Agrarians remained as the only other basis of the government power. From the fifties till Kekkonen's resignation in 1982, the Agrarians were what in Finland is called the party that supported the state.

Sorsa a Person of Importance to Moscow

For domestic policy reasons, the Social Democrats were unavoidable in the government but were long regarded with suspicion in the Kremlin. Following trying internal disputes, the party changed its foreign policy course, and the way to power was thus obtained. Since Mauno Koivisto was elected president and Kalevi Sorsa increasingly started appearing as the country's "natural" prime minister, to the ill-concealed discontent of the Center Party, the Social Democrats have taken over the role as the party supporting the state. Moscow has not been cross. The men in the Kremlin have let it be known discreetly though unmistakably that it is with the Social Democrats that they want to negotiate. In the shaping of the relations to the East, the foreign minister and leader of the Center Party, Paavo Vayrynen has been pushed aside.

Sorsa is a person of importance to Moscow also on account of the position he enjoys within the Socialist International.

After the election Vayrynen appears as the parliamentarily strongest candidate for the post of prime minister. He has not concealed the fact that he intends to put an end to the power of the Social Democrats. He wants to make the Center Party the party anew that supports the state. That presupposes control of the foreign policy. And it is not certain that the prime minister in a Finnish government will obtain such control if the president wants it differently.

In addition, Vayrynen is a presidential candidate.

It will not be all that easy to push Sorsa aside, although his position among the voters is not strong.

Nor does the nonsocialist majority want to take the step to throw the Social Democrats out of the government. After the election victory, the nonsocialists actually want to hold on to the Social Democrats, while the Social Democrats themselves hesitate.

Another reason for the nonsocialists to keep the Social Democrats in the government might be the relations to the West and the requirements these will make of restructuring of the Finnish economy. It is going to be difficult.

The Finns will soon enough have to sit down to seriously discuss their future relations with the EC and the Europe without frontiers that the EC is intent on creating. They carefully avoided this issue in the election campaign. Even if it will take some time before this Europe takes its shape, the

march has already begun, and Finland will have to decide whether and how it will join. If this becomes difficult for Sweden, it becomes even more difficult for Finland.

If Finland becomes more deeply integrated into Europe, this would also affect the East relations.

To this come the domestic policy difficulties.

When the oil crisis hit Europe and the rest of the world that had little oil, things improved for Finland and Norway. For Norway because Norway was just on its way into its big oil adventure and the high prices made it possible to speed up the development of the fields in the North Sea. For Finland because Finland purchased its oil from the Soviet Union at prices that were falling behind and because the trade between the two countries, in principle, had to be in equilibrium: the more the Soviet Union earned on oil sales to Finland, the more the Soviet Union would have to purchase from Finland.

Finland Needed Not Modernize Nor Close Down Plants

The Soviet Union is no demanding market. For this reason, Finland needed not to the same extent as other West European countries modernize or discontinue the industries which, as a result of the high oil prices, had become incapable of holding their own in the competition.

While other West European industries either had to seek state subsidies or had to close down, the Finnish Wartsila was able to work with full order books and come up with handsome profits.

The textile industry--or sections of it--also prospered, and so did the iron and steel industry. And as oil prices increased, the trade increased. There simply was no competition. Finland became one of the few countries without its own oil which throughout the seventies and eighties was able to achieve an annual growth in its gross national product.

When oil prices started falling, Norway got immediately got into difficulties, and the nonsocialist government was overthrown. In Finland, the transition was not quite as drastic but quite noticeable.

And if, as is reasonable, one assumes that oil prices in the foreseeable future will range far below the earlier level, this will have the effect that Finland's trade with the Soviet Union in the foreseeable future will be far below the previous level. And in order for Finland not to experience a devastatingly high unemployment rate, it will have to seek new markets--and at the same time see to it that its industries will be in a position to compete in these markets. The markets that exist are in the West and primarily within the EC.

All parties, except for the Greens and the Stalinists, probably take the same view of the problem. In order to survive and develop into a post-industrial society, Finland will have to adjust to the international distribution of labor and the rules laid down by the economically strongest states.

But, in addition, there are also differences among the parties.

While the National Coalition Party and certain industries are looking forward to these new times with great expectations, the Social Democrats and the trade unions are more doubtful. Prime Minister Sorsa has stated his support for what he refers to as a "moderate internationalization of the Finnish economy." He fears that international developments may lead to greater freedom for capital and that makes him concerned. He deplores the fact that the governments were unable to agree to make greater concessions to their interstate organizations. He also deplores the fact that the Nordic cooperation yields so few results. Sweden, the economically strongest country among the Nordic countries, is at the same time the most protectionist country. "We share in a hard global competition with rather modest contributions. If we make the wrong investments, the game is lost," he said.

And he went on to say: "No outsider after all listens to our wise words. Our shouts drown in the howling winds of the world like the wailing of a wild duck."

The sentiments reflected in these words are quite widespread. Psychologically Finland is much more insular than Sweden.

It is probably true that Finland has solved its former foreign policy problems. In 1945 there probably were not many who felt that this country had got a chance. Now it belongs among the affluent West-European nations. That is well done. But there are no indications that Finland lacks foreign policy problems. In the ordinary sense of the term.

7262

CSO: 3650/118

POLL RESULTS ON POLITICIANS' POPULARITY

Athens EMBISTEVTIKO GRAMMA in Greek 29 Apr 87 p 14

[Text] Another poll, by MRB, was made public by EVDOMI last Sunday.

It mainly covers the politicians' popularity in the greater Athens area.

More specifically, the following data about the popularity of the principal political leaders are given (we add, so there is some comparison, EVRODIM's published data which show the diachronic development of the political leaders' popularity):

	MRB Mar 87	MRB Oct 86	EVRODIM Dec 86-Feb 87	EVRODIM Oct 86	EVRODIM Nov 85
K. Karamanlis	41%	-	56%	43%	53%
A. Papandreou	38%	43%	48%	40%	44%
K. Mitsotakis	30%	36%	30%	36%	29%
K. Stefanopoulos	15%	22%	31%	16%	29%

It is clear that this MRB poll adds nothing particularly new to the things we already know about the political leaders' popularity aside, perhaps, from Karamanlis' lower popularity in comparison to the EVRODIM polls. The only perplexity remaining for the reader is why EVDOMI (which appears to have directed at least three questions to the MRB) was not at all interested in prefixing the electoral body's vote. This is a general political poll's first and primary question, which not only gives the specific fix for the tendencies of public opinion, but also allows a better analysis of all the remaining data.

In this question, ND has been ahead of PASOK for several months now, according to all the published polls. It is clear that EVDOMI, which systematically opposes ND (and so has lost thousands of sales), does not wish to inform its readers about this critical question.

It is worth noting that on the same day, in I KATHIMERINI, N. Nikolaou spoke about "the latest poll A. Papandreou has in his hands which, with a reference to the vote of those undecided, gives 46 percent to New Democracy, 35 percent to PASOK and 17 percent to KKE."

Without knowing the company which conducted the poll, we are unable to evaluate these data. What has been mentioned, however, increases our perplexity about the non-existence of a similar question in the EVDOMI poll.

BRIEFS

SEREPISIOS' RETIREMENT--V. Serepisios has retired "at his own request," with the rank of commander. Serepisios became known internationally after the Soviet colonel for the G.R.U., S. Bokhan, defected and his name got mixed up in the case. In the trial which took place in the Piraeus Naval Court, Serepisios, as is known, was acquitted but, in the end, he did not stay in the navy. Today he is working in an administrative position in the nationalized company, "Peiraiki-Patraiki."
[Text] [Athens EMBISTEVTIKO GRAMMA in Greek 29 Apr 87 p 1] 9247

9427

CSO: 3521/129

COMMUNIST PARTY PRESS ORGAN REPORTS ON CONGRESS

Support for Gorbachev

Oslo FRIHETEN in Norwegian 28 Apr 87 pp 5-6

[Article by Bjorn Johannessen: "Peace and Housing Top Priorities for Norwegian Communist Party"]

[Excerpts] Leadership Question Not Clarified

The Norwegian CP congress approved statements last weekend on the interest and credit system, housing policy, the zone issue and racist immigration policies. The congress did not select a new party leader. The new national committee will choose a new leader, two deputy leaders and a new central committee for the party.

Hans I. Kleven (60) is stepping down after 4 years as party leader. He is resigning for health reasons and also because he wants to give younger people a chance. Who will be the new party leader is an entirely open question. Two of the most likely candidates are FRIHETEN journalist Kare Andre Nilsen (42) and Ingrid Negard (49), principal of the Oppegard School and former deputy party leader.

New Program of Principle

Departing party leader Hans I. Kleven said he was very satisfied that the congress had unanimously supported the new program of principle. The old program is almost 14 years old and was approved during the period of the Socialist Election League [SV]. Parts of the program show signs of this. The need for a program that was not only updated but also more precise soon became apparent, Kleven said.

However he denied that the old program of principle was poor or outdated. "The analyses and the tasks it outlines are still valid for the most part. The same is true of the principles and basic standpoints it contains. In this sense we can talk about a clear continuity in program development since 1963 when the first modern program was adopted. The foundation is the same, Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism," Kleven said in his introductory speech on the program of principle.

The congress decided to prepare a popular edition of the program of principle aimed at a broader group of readers, especially young people. It was also decided to supply the program with a glossary explaining the most important concepts and foreign words. Although the program of principle has been approved, the debate on ideological questions continues and a new program committee will be appointed.

Peace and Housing

The peace effort and housing policy will be the main issues for the Norwegian CP in the future. The congress called for a halt to all nuclear bomb tests and expediting the work for a Nordic nuclear-free zone based on treaty agreements. The Norwegian CP wants to do away with all speculation in state housing as well as in the private housing market. The party wants to abolish the value-added tax on housing and food.

Support for Gorbachev

The congress gave full support to the process of renewal in the Soviet Union. "The Norwegian CP greets the process of renewal, acceleration, change and greater openness and democracy that is now going on in the Soviet Union. We wish the Communist Party of the Soviet Union complete success in implementing this process that has begun and we hope the leadership can overcome the deficiencies, weaknesses and irregularities that have occurred," Kleven said.

Contact With Young People

At the press conference after the congress party leaders were asked how the Norwegian CP intends to win increased support, especially from young people.

"Young people are disillusioned and skeptical about politicians. The Norwegian CP is not the only party to feel this. Young people are apolitical and this makes big demands not only on us but on all the political parties," said Ingrid Negard.

"Younger people are showing increased interest in questions of ideology and philosophy and they are seeking alternatives," said Kare Andre Nilsen. He thinks the peace effort is gradually bringing the Norwegian CP in contact with larger groups of people.

Zone Urgent

The congress also took up the possibilities of speeding up the work on establishing a Nordic nuclear-free zone. The demand is more relevant than ever. Therefore the committee of Nordic government officials must not hold things up. The work must move from words to action. There is clear majority support among the Norwegian people for the zone. Now the will of the popular majority must be put into practice. This will be an important Nordic and Norwegian contribution to detente and a world free of nuclear weapons, according to the Norwegian CP which wants the zone to include the entire

Nordic region. But since Iceland is not yet ready to join in as a member, this should not prevent the other Nordic countries from agreeing on a treaty. Norway must take an independent initiative in negotiations on the matter, according to the Norwegian CP congress.

European Debate

The Norwegian CP welcomes the European debate that has started up in Norway, but warns against twisting the debate in the direction of a narrow debate on EC, as the old Yes to EC people are trying to do. The Norwegian CP is against EC membership but in favor of Europe. European policy must be based on Norway's rejection of EC membership in 1972 because integration in supranational organizations is not the right course for Norway.

The party warns against tying Norwegian foreign policy to EC's foreign policy cooperation in EPS and against participation in the EMS monetary cooperation which would mean that a large part of Norway's currency reserves would be administered by an EC fund.

The perspective in Norway's European policy must be Pan-European and it must be based on East-West cooperation between EC, EFTA and the socialist countries with respect to increased trade, production cooperation, research cooperation and a consistent common line on arms reduction and security. Participation in a "mini-Europe," in an EC bloc that is developing into an economic and political union, is not the right course for Norway, according to the Norwegian CP, which takes a very critical view of our onesided economic links with the EC market.

It is important to prevent Norway from coming into a situation where it has no choice when EC's internal market is established in 1992-93. If the industrialists and the banks have their way they will lead Norway into that kind of situation. Therefore the union movement, farmers and fishermen in particular must fight for their own class interests and let them leave a mark on the European debate. It is through more political control of credit policy, control of the flow of capital into and out of the country, and strong national ownership and control of Norwegian oil policy that those who won in 1972 can provide a lasting assurance of that victory, in the view of the Norwegian CP.

Policy Resolutions Adopted

Oslo FRIHETEN in Norwegian 30 Apr 87 p 10

[Unattributed article: "Major Policy Resolution from the 19th Norwegian CP Congress: Policies for Renewal, Arms Reduction, Security and Peace"]

[Excerpts] Our Goal

We must develop a perspective of what socialism will mean in our country, a vision that people believe in and are willing to fight for, and we must show them a realistic way to get there. We must constantly develop a policy

that both defends the vital interests of the working class and the people and at the same time creates a socialist consciousness--a policy that promotes working-class unity and lays the economic and political foundation for a future socialist society.

Our goal is a socialist transformation of Norwegian society.

Our Strategy

Such a revolutionary change in the ownership and power structure in this country is a task for the entire labor movement, not just one party. Our strategy for socialism is based on an alliance of the working-class parties that is able to unite all those who are objective opponents of monopoly capital and imperialism in the struggle to limit the power of monopoly capital and expand democracy. This struggle must take place both inside and outside parliamentary organs. Our goal is to implement fundamental democratic and social changes with the support of a solid and active majority of the people.

The struggle for people's political awareness and ideological hegemony in society includes both tasks specific to the working class and universal human issues.

This struggle cannot be won by a party that restricts itself to protest and opposition alone. People are not asking for negatives but for realistic and well-founded solutions.

Today the struggle to preserve peace and eliminate nuclear weapons stands above everything else. But the struggle to preserve nature, the elimination of hunger in the world, defending and expanding human rights and the struggle to defend and further develop democracy are of increasing importance. It is now becoming increasingly clear that the major force for solving these tasks is a labor movement that has developed the democratic and ethical humanist content of Marxism.

We are faced with two tasks in the political struggle: the creation of working-class unity and the development of broad popular movements in support of a policy that unites all objective opponents of monopoly capital and imperialism. The Social Democrats are our most important alliance partners on all the major political issues today. We must accomplish the task of developing a constructive and comradely cooperation with the Social Democrats while at the same time maintaining our fundamental criticism of their policies.

Peace--Most Important Issue

New thinking is needed.

In the draft of the new program of principle we say:

"The nuclear age requires new political thinking." Securing world peace has always been part of the historic task of the working class. Today it is the

most important part. This means among other things that the old ideas and prejudices that hamper the struggle for peace must be discarded. It is very much in the class interest of the working class to preserve world peace, it is in the interest of all mankind. Today it is more necessary than ever to enter into compromises that serve the cause of peace. The Communists, for their part, are ready to do this.

In the nuclear age war is not a way of solving problems and achieving political goals. War can no longer be "the continuation of politics with other means." A new world war would mean the end of all politics. National and international disputes and security problems can only be solved politically and through international agreements and negotiations.

No one can win either an arms race or a new war. This realization is not only deeply ingrained in the working class, it also extends into the petty bourgeoisie and the middle class. It is starting to penetrate all the way into sections of the upper middle class and its political spokesmen. There is a basis for creating a worldwide peace front and a coalition of common sense and realism.

The aggressive part of imperialism, primarily U.S. imperialism with its military-industrial complex, must be politically isolated. The most important political task for us today is to participate in building up and strengthening a peace movement that has three main goals:

1. To force the United States to agree to a nuclear test ban;
2. To prevent the United States from carrying out its SDI program; and
3. To create a Nordic nuclear-free zone.

If they win support the Soviet proposals for removing medium- and short-range missiles from Europe and for a nuclear-free corridor 150 km wide on each side of the East-West borders in Europe will facilitate the work for a Nordic nuclear-free zone as well.

The communist movement adopted the principle of peaceful coexistence once and today the next bold and necessary step is being taken to safeguard peace. Thus a better foundation is being established for both our own policy and the labor movement's policy in all areas of the class struggle. If the three tasks mentioned above are accomplished, an important basis will have been created for solving other larger tasks. Conventional arms reduction, the further dismantling of nuclear weapons, the withdrawal of foreign troops and a simultaneous dissolution of the military blocs.

Norwegian CP and Communist Movement

Today we can see brother parties--primarily the Soviet Communist Party--going through a political, theoretical, moral and organizational development that contains all the possibilities and prospects for realizing socialism's potential and its advantages over capitalism.

This lays the foundation for a new situation in the communist movement so that it can step out both internationally and in the individual countries with renewed energy, increased possibilities for winning trust and support and better opportunities for isolating and restraining imperialism and monopoly capital. The socialism that is already in existence will have a new role as a vision and a goal for working people in the developed capitalist countries.

The Norwegian CP is part of the world communist movement. In relation to its brother parties it adheres to the principles of independence, equality and nonintervention in internal affairs. Proletarian internationalism means active cooperation between the working classes and their organizations in both capitalist and socialist countries. It means that the Norwegian working class should stand alongside the working class in countries where the workers have acquired power and have constructed a socialist system, while at the same time criticizing mistakes and deficiencies that are not in accord with the principles of socialism and that harm its international reputation. Such criticism is necessary and should aid the development of our common cause, not serve our opponents or occur on their terms.

It is an obvious task for all communist parties to combat anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. The policy of the Soviet Communist Party, especially after the 27th congress, and further developments in the Soviet Union based on the guidelines that were drawn up there are creating new and favorable conditions for this struggle, conditions that will enable us to win it.

Paper Comments on Program

Oslo FRIHETEN in Norwegian 28 Apr 87 p 3

[Editorial by Arne Jorgensen: "Norwegian CP's 19th Congress"]

[Text] The delegates to the 19th congress of the Norwegian CP, which came to an end last weekend, unanimously approved the main substance of the program committee's proposed program of principle for the Norwegian Communist Party--adding a proviso that the program committee keep on working further on the proposal and an issue-oriented debate continue until the national committee approves the final version of the program.

There was equally unanimous support for the other statements that were approved, including the main resolution summing up the important elements of party policy in the peace effort, the anti-imperialist effort and the struggle against unemployment and the austerity policy and establishing that the party's goal is a socialist transformation of Norway. In its explanation of the necessity for embarking on a socialist course the resolution pointed to the inability of capitalism to solve people's fundamental environmental, ecological and other problems. In the OECD countries, for example, more than 30 million people, many of them young people, are now out of work. The imbalance between individual capitalist countries and between different sectors in various countries has increased--along with the deficit

and the debt burden. The monopolies and financial capital have increased their power. Among other things the main resolution points out that in our country we are seeing today that the Labor government is being forced by strong capital groups to pursue a nonsocialist economic policy and at the same time to take the lead in pursuing an austerity policy in relation to ordinary wage earners.

Was the 19th congress "characterized by unity"? Despite the political resolutions that were passed unanimously it would be incorrect to answer that question with an unconditional yes. Certain differences of a political and personal nature were expressed during the discussion and the subsequent election of the national committee. As long as that kind of thing does not gain the upper hand it simply indicates that the Norwegian Communist Party has a lot of leeway, that democracy prevails and that anyone can freely express his opinions. The words of Norwegian CP leader Hans I. Kleven on this subject are worth considering:

"We must think, speak and act like responsible, class-conscious and peace-conscious communists. If we do that we will discover that differences of opinion among the vast majority of members and elected officials are small in relation to the enormous tasks that confront us....New thinking must not mean a break with the theoretical and political principles on which we are based or with our internationalism. On the contrary, it should be a question of renewal in the sense of further development, making things more precise, expanding our thinking on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism does not need either renewal or modernization, but it should be constantly developed further and be subject to new analyses and conclusions based on life experiences."

With respect to elections, they were conducted by means of secret written ballots, a process that proved to be tedious--and took such a long time that it was not possible for the national committee representatives who were elected to appoint the new leadership, which means that the old leadership will continue to function until the national committee meets, as it will soon. We are convinced that the committee will be able to choose a unified leadership who will make it a primary task to bring the party out of its present difficulties by making it more mobile and more capable of working in accordance with current opportunities and demands.

New Leadership Assessed

Oslo FRIHETEN in Norwegian 12 May 87 p 5

[Editorial: "On to New Efforts"; capitalized word published in boldface]

[Text] After the timetable broke down at the Norwegian CP's 19th congress on 23-26 April, so that the national committee was unable to choose the new leadership, it was decided to hold a national committee meeting within the next 3 weeks. Two turned out to be enough and on Saturday, 9 May, the meeting was held in Nordkanten Folkets Hus in Oslo. The result was that journalist Kare Andre Nilsen was elected as the new party leader after Hans I.

Kleven declined to run for re-election for health reasons. At the end of the national committee meeting Kleven received thanks and praise for his efforts during the two periods he acted as party leader and before that as deputy leader. In Kare Andre Nilsen the party has acquired a young and capable politician and organization man who along with the two deputy leaders, Ingrid Negard and Trygve Horgan, and the rest of the party leadership, considers it an important task to create a "comeback" for the Norwegian Communist Party.

At the press conference on Sunday the Norwegian CP's new "troika" did not deny that lack of agreement and internal tensions have been present for some time in the Norwegian CP, especially at the top level. After the party's 19th congress talked openly about this, after unanimous political resolutions, including the new program of principle, were passed and finally after the national committee named the new party leadership, the time has come for a "result-oriented" internal and external effort, they said. This also includes the work to improve FRIHETEN's quality and distribution--which was described as something that is not just the concern of the FRIHETEN staff but should involve the party, party members and sympathizers in general. They are so right about that. The tasks that lie ahead are so numerous and so big that they can only be solved by "pulling together"--that way the job will not be so hard that it cannot be accomplished.

The theoretical basis for the Norwegian Communist Party is scientific socialism, more specifically, Marxism-Leninism. It shows us the role of the class struggle as the driving force in development. Above all it clarifies the role and historic task of the working class and shows that all history is the history of the class struggle. One social system replaces another as part of a regular process. But the working class does not get anything free of charge. Without struggle, without taking up the fight against those who appear to be so "invincible," the reactionary forces who still hold positions of command in the economic, political and military areas in the part of the world that is still capitalist, development would stand still or deteriorate further. It is with this awareness that the Norwegian Communist Party is calling for mutual unified efforts on the part of the working people so that the goal, a socialist Norway, can one day become a reality in this country too. It was for the sake of precisely this kind of goal that the Norwegian labor movement was formed at this time of year 100 years ago.

We are glad to be able to state that the Norwegian CP is aware of its historic responsibility. That is also why the party is so strongly involved in the struggle for detente, arms reduction and peace. We wish the newly-elected party leadership good luck with the work that lies ahead and at the same time we hope that all party members will participate actively so that the party can immediately go on the OFFENSIVE!

6578

CSO: 3639/68

POLITICAL PARTIES' PERSONALITIES IN ASCENT, DESCENT

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 15 May 87 pp 9-14

/Excerpts/ The Socialist Party

Personalities in Ascent

Arons de Carvalho. Member of the Special Secretariat. Has not been a deputy since 1983. He is one of the so-called "pending cases." It is understood that he will be a deputy, but it has not been decided for which group. He was proposed by Porto.

Elisa Damiao. When she was chosen for the secretariat at the last PS congress, everybody expressed surprise. Member of the UGT Secretariat, she will be at the head of the list for Braga. A star in Parliament.

Ferro Rodrigues. Came from the directorate of the MES, passing by way of the "New Left." Had already been a candidate for Lisbon, in 25th place, as an independent. With the integration of the "New Left" in the PS, he entered the phantom government with the cannon ball impetus of the Labor Ministry. He will enter in Aveiro.

Helena Roseta. She is not a star in Parliament, but she is a star in the PS. After supporting Mario Soares, she emerges in a favorable position on the socialist slate in Porto. In the opinion of some, this is considered a victory, especially for the campaign.

Lurdes Pintasilgo. She represents the major victory of the PS for the European Parliament, but not only that... Never was the former presidential candidate elected deputy and never will she manage to be so close to a party.

Jaime Gama. He has not risen but is holding his own, which, for a candidate for the position of leader who lost his congressional opportunity with 20 percent, is noteworthy. Gama's importance to the party is increasingly significant.

Joao Cravinho. He was 14th in Lisbon and rose to 5th. After his impressive performance on the Parliamentary Committee for the Economy, everyone expected to see the rise of a man who could also serve in the National Secretariat, if it were not necessary to maintain a balance in Congress.

Joao Soares. A leader in the Lisbon Federation, he will enter Parliament for the first time (10th in Lisbon). Besides achieving a personal victory, he is viewed by his opponents in the PS as a candidate for leadership, which he denies. But the son of the president of the republic can always be the subject of a good electoral victory.

Jorge Sampaio. At the head of the list in Santarem, he became one of the most important figures in the PS; there are some who even predict that he will be the number two man. The Constancio election for the presidency of the Union of the PS parties in Europe was considered a victory for him in light of international relations.

Antonio Campos. He was the man most "detested" pre- and post-Congress and he was accused of being responsible for many errors which occurred in the PS. But in the Federation of Coimbra--the district of which he is a native--he ended up achieving a substantial victory by defeating Antonio Arnaut in a secret ballot. The federation is under the aegis of Constancio and this enhances the personal victory of Campos.

Personalities in Descent

Armando Lopes. Attorney in Mangualde and secretary of state in the Central Bloc Government. He was accustomed to being the leader in the Viseu slate. This time the federation wanted Raul Junqueiro, and it is he who emerged the victor.

Cal Brandao. Historically ranked second by Porto after Antonio Macedo, he now runs the risk of not seeing his name included. If he ends up ranking second in Porto, it is because he is being given a second chance.

Joaquim Silva Pinto. After being considered highly eligible as a candidate, he ends up not appearing on the list. The IRIS contributed nothing...

Marcelo Curto. Traditional deputy for Lisbon and former leader of the Liberal Left, he does not even appear on the slate.

Palma Inacio. Has never held a top position and this time will not even get into Parliament.

Pedro Coelho. Was at the head of the list for Santarem and could always be counted on to be included in that list. No longer participating in the party controversies due to his administrative role, he is not included among the eligibles.

Raul Brito. He was considered a possibility for the National Secretariat and, despite being a deputy for Porto, he is on the decline or at least he will not rise in the rankings of the list. This is a significant defeat in view of his ambitions in the capital of the north.

Rui Mateus. The biggest loser. From fourth in the Lisbon list, he will no longer be deputy. His clashes with the new leadership cost him this estrangement. His bad performance as a deputy is given as the reason.

Rudolfo Crespo. Traditional deputy for Europe and European parliamentarian, he could see his position threatened in both parliaments, since he is competing in the "gray area" of the European Parliament. He is undoubtedly one of the former leaders who is losing his importance.

The Social Democratic Party

Personalities in Ascent

Pedro Santana Lopes. Just 30 years of age, he came from the extreme right and served in the college of law; he was an associate of Sa Carneiro and a constant supporter of Cavaco Silva. Current assistant secretary of state subordinate to the prime minister, he occupies one of the most important positions in Lisbon and, according to the latest information, heads the list for the European Parliament.

Carlos Pimenta. Also 30 years of age, he is on the rise within the party. He heads the list for Setubal and, as current secretary of state for the environment, still holds a "passport" for Europe.

J. Pacheco Pereira. Historian, former militant of the Marxist-Leninist organization, OCMLP, and director of the magazine, "Studies on Communism." He is 38 years old and belongs to the Liberal Left.

Carlos Macedo. Sa Carneiro's former minister of social affairs and former chairman of PSD's Policy Committee. A doctor, he was an outstanding supporter of Freitas do Amaral, being a member of the 21st Century Foundation. His name was approved through pressure put on by Eurico de Melo, Santana Lopes and Durao Barroso.

Marques Mendes (son). He is the youngest member of the Executive as secretary of state for social communication. He also maintains a dizzying pace and has emerged in the number two spot on the Braga slate, following Eurico de Melo.

Nuno Delerue. A young leader of the former MASP, a movement supporting Mario Soares, deputy secretary in Macau, is entering through Porto's PSD. Was not amenable to his name being used in this district.

Teresa Patricio Gouveia. Secretary of state for culture, she is a woman on the rise in politics with a place assured in the Assembly of the Republic.

Rui Amaral. A controversial figure of the PSD, he was elected to the vice-presidency of the European Parliament, but it is not now possible to withdraw his name from the leadership of the PSD despite his role in the European Parliament.

Manuel Villaverde Cabral. Did not want an eligible status, but as current director of the National Library he could emerge as one of the 10 most important figures in the PSD list. Although an independent, he is also associated with the Liberal Left supporting Mario Soares...

Personalities in Descent

Pires Miranda. Minister of foreign affairs. Although an expert in the petroleum domain, he received a negative mark in his formal position and is not included in the PPD/PSD lists. If Cavaco Silva continues as prime minister, Miranda will not be designated to carry out the same functions.

Santos Martins. Minister of industry; also not designated as deputy. His role in the Executive was classified as not very brilliant.

Oliveira Martins. Another minister with mediocre performance in the PSD. In the Ministry of Transportation and Housing he was considered to have accomplished very little.

Miguel Cadilhe. Minister of finance. Until the last moment his name had not been indicated by anyone. His popularity within the party is zero.

Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa. Vaguely mentioned as worthy of being included in the lists. He is not in the good graces of the leader, Cavaco Silva. Former vice chairman of the PSD and identified with the 21st Century Foundation, he will continue his "trek across the desert."

Jose Miguel Judice. More than not being included in the lists, which he was not expecting according to O JORNAL's information, his "star" grew dim when he left the presidency of Lisbon District and rebelled against the partisanship of the "chief," that is, Cavaco Silva. However, he had always been his supporter.

Margarida Borges de Carvalho. PSD militant and former secretary of state for the environment, only at the last moment was she saved by Cavaco Silva from being excluded from the lists. Neither the section nor the district recommended her name.

Henrique Granadeiro. He represents the low point to which the pro-Balsemao faction has fallen. They are now nonexistent in the party and Henrique Granadeiro will be included in the list only if Cavaco Silva so desires. No one has recommended him.

The Democratic Renewal Party

Personalities in Ascent

Ramalho Eanes. Former president of the republic and chairman of the PRD, this is the first time that he is running as part of a slate associated with a sovereign organization, such as the Assembly of the Republic. He is number one in Lisbon.

Miguel Galvao Teles. Constitutionalist and said to be one of the strategists of the censorship movement of the renewers, he is running for the position of deputy while remaining in Parliament, at least during the period of the revision of the Constitution.

Jose Carlos de Vasconcelos. He is the one whom the northern rank and file want to see head the list of the PRD faction in the Porto area. A native of Freamunde, journalist and lawyer, he had run in the Lisbon area in previous elections.

Ivo Pinho. A leader clearly on the rise in the PRD. Chairman of the Technical Electoral Committee, he will be one of the front runners in Lisbon.

Magalhaes Mota. The "legislative ant" of the PRD of which parliamentary group he is the chairman, he occupies one of the most influential spots on the Lisbon slate and was one of those responsible for drawing up the lists for that area.

Natalia Correia. A poet, she will be included in the PRD lists as an independent, having been proposed by the National Directive Committee for a top position. The invitation was given to her by General Eanes himself.

Bartolo Paiva Campos. Former secretary of state for education and vice chairman of the parliamentary group of the renewers. He should be number three in Porto (after Silva Lopes). This is another individual on the rise in the PRD.

Carlos Lilaia. Head of the Research Council, he is strong in his contacts with emigration circles and is coordinator of the team responsible for the electoral program. He is running for a top position in the Lisbon area.

Alfredo Calado. Former PS militant, he is currently president of the Chamber of Almeirim. He ranks third in Santarem, coming after Herminio Martinho and Armando Fernandes. He is the exemplary autocrat of the renewers.

Personalities in Descent

Maria Gloria Padrao. Indicating for months that she was not available as a candidate for the position of deputy, she nevertheless wrote a letter to Herminio Martinho. She disagreed with the criteria used in drawing up the list for the Porto District where she appeared in a noneligible position.

Jose Santos. Former member of the Directive Committee, he divorced himself completely from party activities, alleging that he was doing so for personal reasons.

Vasco da Gama Fernandes. His position is shaky, since he was not included in the lists of the Lisbon District in an eligible spot. However, that situation could be rectified through action by the Directive Committee.

Paulo Guedes Campos. Controversial leader of the PRD. At the last convention he was allegedly disassociated from the Directive Committee and even from the National Council. He is not included in the lists for Santarem where he served as deputy.

Anibal Campos. Former head of the list for Aveiro, he will not be the first in this election for that area.

Cristina Albuquerque. One of the PRD's few women deputies. She is in very bad position in the lists proposed by Lisbon District where the work performed by the deputies was taken into consideration.

Antonio Paulouro. Journalist and director of the JORNAL DO FUNDAO. He is sixth in the list submitted by Castelo Branco in a noneligible spot. Paulouro's position in Castelo Branco's lists was assigned at Paulouro's request.

The Portuguese Communist Party-CDU /not further identified/

Personalities in Ascent

Angelo Veloso. He is 56 years old and a member of the Policy Committee of PCP's Central Committee; he was a candidate in the 1986 presidential election and was responsible for party activity in Greater Porto until his "transfer" to Lisbon a year ago where he is handling the ideological activity (and working on the morning newspaper, O DIARIO). He is now a candidate for the European Parliament.

Octavio Pato. He is 62 years old and a member of the secretariat and Policy Committee of the Central Committee; he was a presidential candidate in 1976. His passage to the number two spot in Lisbon is due in part to the absence of Jose Manuel Tengarrinha. A few years ago, he was mentioned as the possible successor of Alvaro Cunhal as secretary general.

Maria Santos. She is 35 years old, a professor and a national director of the party known as "The Greens." Until now she is the sole parliamentary representative and the best-known personality of this ally of the PCP. According to all accounts, Maria Santos will be accompanied in the next Assembly by another deputy (male or female) of "The Greens."

Raul de Castro. He is 65 years old, an Oporto attorney and a director of the MDP/CDE until its break with the PCP. As a deputy, he is one of the most outstanding figures in the north among the "unitarian" sectors and one of the proponents of the Democratic Intervention. He is number two in the Porto District list right after Carlos Costa (PCP).

Lino de Carvalho. He is 40 years of age and a member of the directorate of PCP's Alentejo Regional Organization and of the UCP's secretariat; he is now number one for Evora. Highly knowledgeable in matters of agrarian reform, Lino de Carvalho will certainly be one of the pillars of the PCP parliamentary group in the agricultural sphere.

Raimundo Cabral. Also 40 years of age and an agricultural operator, he was elected member of the Central Committee of the Eighth Congress (1983) and has been one of PCP's principal cadres in Santarem District where he is now at the head of CDU's list. He has been a member of the party since 1972.

Diamantino Dias. He is 37 years of age, a metal worker and an officeholder in the PCP where he is a member of the Central Committee and also directs the Portalegre organization. He is number one in this district and is highly knowledgeable of the Alentejo area.

Luis Catarino. An attorney, former director of the MDP/CDE and instigator of the ID, he was a deputy for this party at the Constituent Assembly. Number two for Faro, he is expected to be called upon to participate in the discussion on the constitutional revision.

Carlos Fraiao. At 39 years of age, he appears as number one in Viseu, having risen one step due to the departure of Jaime Gralheiro. He will not be in the next Assembly, but he is again a new figure in the foremost ranks of the CDU. Local director of the PCP, he was chairman of the directorate general of the Academic Association of Coimbra in 1970-71 and took part in the founding of the Union of Communist Students.

Personalities in Descent

Antonio Dias Lourenco. Now 72 years of age, he is a member of the Policy Committee of the Central Committee and director of the weekly, AVANTI!. He is no longer in first place in the Santarem list.

Jose Vitoriano. At 67 years of age, he is a member of the Policy Committee of PCP's CC but is surrendering his place in the Setubal list to the young Maria Santos of "The Greens." He is one of the vice presidents of the recently dissolved Assembly of the Republic.

Margarida Tengarrinha. She is 59 years of age and a member of PCP's Central Committee but is now giving her place to Luis Catarino. She is a regional director, a native of Algarve and the sister of Jose Manuel Tergarrinha; it appears that she did not like her parliamentary experience.

Antonio Gervasio. At 60 years of age, he is a member of the CC's Policy Committee and one of PCP's "historic" directors in Alentejo; he is now giving his spot to Lino de Carvalho.

Jaime Gralheiro. He is 57 years of age, an attorney and writer; in 1985 he was a candidate, but his candidacy was more honorary than real, since the APU (existent at that time) did not succeed in electing a single deputy in this area. He is a militant for the PCP and would now prefer a more tranquil situation than that of deputy.

The Social Democratic Center Party

Personalities in Ascent

Basilio Horta. Founder of the CDS and a full-fledged return to the centrist lists. In Braga's District Assembly two lists demanded his leadership. This

demand was made by the rank and file. He was minister of agriculture and fishing and for 12 years Braga has been counting on him as its representative in Sao Bento. He did not run in 1985. Nogueira de Brito headed the list.

Joao Colto. Journalist and director of O DIA. A star in the race. He is number two for Guarda. The CDS has not yet resorted to journalists.

Fernando Seara. Secretary general of the CDS. Confidant of Adriano Moreira. He is his assistant at the university. One of the individuals responsible for the campaign apparatus.

Narana Coissoro. Vice president and author of the "Electoral Manifesto." He is number three in Lisbon, immediately following Adriano Moreira and Lucas Pires. As he is running for the European spot, the place in Sao Bento will not escape him.

Manuel Rafael Amaro da Costa. The father of Amaro da Costa, he is again running for Beja, the area in which he headed the list in the 1983 election. Lucas Pires invited him at the time, honoring him through the figure of his son who died in the Camarate accident.

Nogueira de Brito. Former parliamentary leader and one of the most brilliant deputies. He is one of the administrators of the Bank of Portugal. He left Parliament before its dissolution. At the head of the list for Braga in 1985, he is now sure to be a leader for Viana do Castelo or Porto. He is considered indispensable.

Miguel Anacoreta Correia. Vice president with an outstanding role in the study of the problems in Timor. He is the author of an important report on that former Portuguese territory. Candidate for the European spot if he does not head the Leiria list.

Gomes de Pinho. Parliamentary leader and member of the CDS Permanent Committee. Immovable rock in party strategy. Will be number one in Viseu or Coimbra, although everything depends on the capital of Beira Alta.

Martins Canaverde. Chairman of the National Committee. A step away from the head of the list for Santarem. The portfolio of lists worked in his favor. Soares Cruz will be second.

Personalities in Descent

Manuel Queiro. Headed the Coimbra list in 1985. Queiro is disenchanted with the party's current directorate. He did not show any special interest in being deputy. This was of his own choosing. A serious accident kept him away from political activities for a long time.

Vasco de Melo. An independent who limited his activity to passing through Parliament. The principal criticism made of parliamentary life was that relating to deputies in Parliament for the first time: their notorious lack of punctuality. Vasco de Melo was president of the CIP.

Luis Beiroso. A European deputy not available to be a candidate this time. Made an excellent contribution to the constitutional revision in 1982. He was Freitas do Amaral's right arm at the time. He is accused of having divided the Lisbon District. The party is angry at him.

Nuno Abecasis. President of the Municipal Chamber of Lisbon. Broke with the directorate of the CDS and publicly revealed the displeasure with which he viewed the action of the directors elected in Porto. An offer of fourth place in Lisbon received a resounding no. Attitudes of divisionism in the "hour of truth" weigh heavily against him.

Joao Morgado. He represents a serious decline--one which was somewhat unexpected. Celebrated author of a treatise on happy procreation--mainly a series of parliamentary anecdotes--Joao Morgado was not accepted, even though he was proposed as head of the list for Viseu; he did not have the confidence of the central organizations.

Morais Leitao. In doubt to the end. To invite him or not was the dilemma of the national organizations, but the Permanent Committee, meeting last Wednesday, questioned the legitimacy of inviting one who, routed at the Porto congress, consistently refused to cooperate.

Borges de Carvalho. Former member of the PPM, vice chairman of the Assembly of the Republic and chairman of the committee on the constitutional revision, he had a number of arguments in the heated tones for which he is known. He displayed a spirit of independence which did not go over well and incited feelings of antipathy. He will not be in the lists, for he was not even invited.

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CSO: 3542/100

NO AUTONOMY SEEN PERMITTED IN LEFT

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 16 May 87 p 3

/Article by Jose Antonio Saraiva/

/Text/ It is possible that the leaders of the MDP who recently abandoned this party were influenced by valid motives.

It is possible that their withdrawal was brought about by reasons of a purely ideological nature--that is, through a healthy difference of opinion with regard to the MDP's guidelines.

However, the fact that they immediately joined the new CDU organization puts a cloud of suspicion on their motives which can never be dispelled.

This is the problem: If those leaders had remained in the MDP, they would certainly not be deputies in the new Parliament; having joined the CDU, some of them can legitimately aspire to that possibility.

But putting this question of a personal nature aside, another emerges--one of greater interest and significance.

We are referring to the behavior of the Communist Party in this procedure.

The rapidity with which agreement was reached between the PCP and the Portuguese Democratic Movement suggests that negotiations between the two have been going on for some time--and that they did not just begin with the dissolution of the APU.

If things had happened thus, we would be faced with a doubtful case from the ethical and political standpoint.

In fact, this would mean that there was a group of former MDP leaders who began to negotiate with the PCP concerning their entry into a new alliance when "official" conversations were still being held by the two parties with regard to the future of the APU.

And it would also mean that the Communist Party, while maintaining contacts with the directorate of the Portuguese Democratic Movement, was carrying on a

series of simultaneous negotiations with militants of the latter party with a view to their withdrawal and subsequent integration in an electoral front to be established.

Only thus can we explain the "instantaneous" manner in which everything happened: the dissolution of the APU, the dissidence of the MDP and the emergence of a new electoral front integrating the dissidents.

In view of these facts, it is difficult not to think that the Communist Party, perceiving that the MDP was ready to take extreme measures, put aside certain reservations and had only one concern: to show that it is not with impunity that an organization bucks the PCP and questions an agreement made with it.

Cunhal wanted to give the MDP an exemplary lesson.

To do so, he used every weapon at his disposal: He appealed to divisiveness, urged desertions and practiced enticement.

He did not hold back on any means, for the objective was justifiable: To reduce the MDP to powder, finish with it, annihilate it.

If he succeeded, the Communist Party would prove that there is only one way for small leftist parties to survive: By aligning themselves with the PCP, submitting to its regulations.

Thus it would put an end to certain dreams of autonomy which were still occurring in certain segments of the left.

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FORMER PCE SECRETARY GENERAL SPEAKS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS

Madrid EPOCA in Spanish 11 May 87 pp 32-38

[Interview with former Spanish Communist Party Secretary General Santiago Carrillo by Pilar Urbano; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] What keeps you going, Carrillo?

[Answer] Ideals. When one is not in politics because of a desire for positions or personal ambitions but because of ideas, one does not abandon the fight until the objective is reached...unless death intervenes. I feel neither physically nor intellectually tired. I have more than enough energy to continue "in harness." At age 72 one does not set little goals for oneself; the future is behind you already. You either have faith in that for which you are fighting or it does not make sense to continue. I have faith in the need for communist unity.

[Question] Do you really have that faith or do you cling to it so that your life shall not have been a failure?

[Answer] I have it. And very much alive. Failure? When the essence is preserved, when one does not give in to fatigue or to offers of comfort, when one does not indulge in political transvestitism, when one continues upright and at the post where he should be, there is no failure, there is consistency.

[Question] Europe, as the last train?

[Answer] No, the train of the European Parliament is important because my party decides there whether it will or will not be parliamentary, but it is not the last train. If I am not elected I shall be very sorry. But I am accustomed to difficulties. I shall continue to fight for the unity of the communists.

[Question] It is strange that you should join the European march when you were the only deputy who did not want to vote for the treaty of support.

[Answer] I did not vote for it, that is true, but not because I rejected our joining, but rather because of disagreement with "that" specific treaty. It was ill done. The Spanish negotiators, prodded by the party haste of the PSOE, who wanted to score a goal no matter how it was done, made concessions that were harmful to Spain. Europe overcame a difficulty. The customs-tariffs dismantlement for our industrial products needed a slower pace than the agricultural. It was done backward. In livestock also there has been such improvisation that, for example, the Cantabria cornice runs the risk of disappearing as a meat and milk producer. We have given way to the United States in the purchase of cereals, and in Spain's contribution to the EEC, which should be done as a share proportional to the domestic gross product, whereby the richer countries would pay more and the less rich would pay less. That treaty would have to be reviewed.

Unity After General Elections

[Question] Santiago, this party of yours with such a complicated name, the PTE-UC gave you a mandate for negotiating communist unity. Tell me, what have you managed up to now? Why do I continue to see the Gerardistas, Galleguistas and Carillistas disunited? Who is hindering unity? Are you imposing unreasonable conditions?

[Answer] I? I have not even been able to impose conditions because those of the PCE have not even given us the chance to meet! The day after the burying of Tierno in February 1986, that is, very much before the PTE-UC was created, I talked with Nicolas Satorius. Well, he was seriously reprimanded by his party and he had to deny to the press that the conversation took place.

People around Gerardo Iglesias prevent contacts. On the other hand, those around Ignacio Gallegos have made a public proposal of unity. I am willing to sit down and negotiate this very day. The communists, whatever our social influence may be, have to travel together and without disguising ourselves as lizard hunters... I know that it is not easy and that it will not be arranged overnight. The unity of the left will be a long process and it will not begin until after the general elections...

[Question] You have said: "The unity of the left" and not of the communists. Is that not perhaps the United Left of Iglesias, Tamames and Puerta already?

[Answer] No. Tamames is "himself and four cats," as Raul Jucar, a man of sensibilities similar to those of the PCE, wrote recently. Alonso Puerta and the PASOC are a few Socialists who split away from the PSOE for visceral reasons, but they are anticommunist to the marrow of their bones. The others who follow them, humanists, Carlistas... It is almost a joke that they are in the left! Yes, I have said "unity of the left." I have also set a long period because my ideals are long term, not of the moment, and because first there has to be a union of the communist families.

[Question] What is that long term ideal?

[Answer] Invert the sign of the politics being carried out by the PSOE today. This government is not carrying out a Socialist plan of the left, but a conservative European and capitalist, warmongering American plan. Sometimes I hear it said: "They have run out of ideas," and I think: "It is not that; it is that the ones applied are borrowed...and with borrowed ideas one performs badly."

"There is an Inferiority Complex in the PCE"

[Question] Why do they not like you in the PCE of Gerardo Iglesias? To mention Santiago Carrillo there is like saying "snake."

[Answer] I cannot make anyone like me. There are comrades who have liked me...even more than I deserved. But...

He lights a long "Stuywesand" cigarette, draws on it deeply and remains pensative in silence. Finally, he continues, surrounded by a cloud of greyish smoke.

[Answer] They have created such a guilt complex for them that they think that only by hating me can they handle the leadership of the party. Some have even gone as far as to think that everything they did before was... because I bewitched them. I do not know...It seems to me that what there is among some PCE leaders is an inferiority complex.

[Question] When there is a schism, when there is a struggle between "brothers," personal wounds are harder to heal.

[Answer] They have also struck me and knifed me and they have expelled me... or "self-excluded" me, as they say! However, unity must be above wounds. I, with my wounds, am willing to work with them and forget it all.

[Question] That endeavor makes me think that you are the one who feels inferior, Santiago...

[Answer] Look, Pilar, I believe that democracy needs a genuine left, a strong serious, communist party, well represented in the institutions.

[Question] O no...A democracy places parties in the institutions according to the desires of the people. What is there? What the people want there to be!

[Answer] But when the students or workers do not have a strong political representation that defends them, they are obliged to express their demands through violence in the streets. That is not good, particularly that the PCE appear today as being disruptive of the system.

[Question] I have reports that there is an upheaval within the PCE of Iglesias; that the leadership of Gerardo is undergoing an internal crisis...

[Answer] I know little today of its authorities but I know that the two deputy secretaries general, Curiel and Sartorius, do not function as such. They rarely go to meetings and barely participate. Juan Francisco Pla has formed a foundation, the "Garcia Quejido," where he gathers his own followers. Perhaps they are not good symptoms. I can neither affirm nor deny that there is a crisis in the PCE but I have noted some indications. For example, I do not see strong ideological similarities among the very people who expelled us. I note a process of desertion of militants: The curve on the dues between 1982 and 1986 went down, just as the voluntary help by the militants of the PCE Central Committee has gone down. Certain exulting declarations from other times have been dropped. There is no talk of the PCE but of the United Left... I also view with concern the danger that the divisions among ourselves will extend to the CC00 [Workers Commissions] Unions. That must be prevented. It is another reason for advocating unity among communists.

[Question] Sincerely, Carrillo, do you not think that communism is an old leftover fossil, which has failed throughout Europe?

[Answer] No. I believe that communism has a future, particularly if one considers the future pockets of a neglected, unemployed proletariat. However, since you ask me for sincerity, I must acknowledge that it has weakened greatly and in a short time in some countries of Europe. What is it due to? Well, it is partly due to the new social makeup of the working class. Above all, it is due to the little that the USSR has contributed to giving prestige to communism. However, that is going to change with Gorbachev.

"I Believe in the Change by Gorbachev"

[Question] Do you believe in the change suggested by Mikhail Gorbachev?

[Answer] I believe in it because it is necessary, indispensable. I believe it because I am beginning to see deeds. Gorbachev is convinced that he has to accelerate the technological-industrial revolution so that the USSR can be competitive in foreign trade. That means routing spending away from armaments and spending on the "cold war" industry to the industry of peace. That productive modernization and that trade opening are linked to a process of political democratization. It is obvious that the economic system will continue to be socialist. However, the people are going to participate more, ever more, in Soviet institutions. This moment had to come, and it is there.

[Question] However, if the U.S. and USSR missiles are eliminated from the European scene, would we Europeans have to open our own defensive umbrella?

[Answer] What for? There is no need to open an umbrella when it is not going to rain?

[Question] Ah, Carrillo! Who guarantees us that?

"I See a PSOE-CDS Coalition"

[Question] Good, one less person deceived. Tell me Carrillo, do you believe those rumors of "Guerra, successor to Felipe?" Could they not be smoke screens to distract the attention from some other more important subject?

[Answer] Could be. I am not one of those who say that there are fewer freedoms now. That does not seem fair to me. However, I do say there is less information now. We know nothing about the negotiations on the U.S. bases. We know nothing for sure on denuclearization. We know nothing about what there could be at Rota. We know nothing...of what is being called "state of mind" in the army.

[Question] Yes, there is less information, there is more silence and there are more smokescreens. But we have digressed. We were talking about whether that rumor about Guerra being a replacement for Gonzalez could be feasible, or whether it was another smokescreen...

[Answer] Those critical factions of which I have told you have been developing in the PSOE. They may crystallize, taking root in a not too short a time, but not very far off...Who is going to head them politically? Nicolas Redondo? No. He has neither the training nor does he like that and his leadership does not go beyond that of the UGT [General Union of Workers] workers. Alfonso Guerra? Could be. Human loyalties are not eternal...I have learned that myself. But there is one worrying factor in this subject: The fact that Guerra or any other well-equipped socialist is thought about as a substitute for Felipe reflects the lack of confidence in which an alternative to the PSOE outside the PSOE may arise.

[Question] Something like what Franco used to say: "The movement succeeds itself."

[Answer] Exactly. However, in democracy it is necessary that the alternatives be seen. In democracy, I add, alternatives cannot be crushed, otherwise we wind up with the absurd option of PSOE or PSOE.

[Question] If Adolfo Suarez were listening to us he would say: "I am the alternative."

[Answer] He could be, but he is not yet. With 20 seats against 180, it is not realistic to say that. After the coming general elections, I consider it easier for a PSOE-CDS coalition to emerge than one headed by Suarez replacing the PSOE in the opposition.

[Question] Let us see if you also, at your age, is going to believe that Suarez is of the left...

[Answer] Nooo! I do not believe, I am not crazy, that Suarez is more of the left than Felipe. But I do believe that he has firmer positions and less willing to make concessions to the Americans and the banks, for example.

[Question] I am trying to measure the scope of what you have just finished saying...A PSOE-CDS government? You, Carrillo, know that it is unlikely. But you say it. Why? Against whom? That does not help the PSOE. Adolfo Suarez lacks votes from the center-right but he has the votes from the center-left...Ah! I would very much like to know why you are so Machiavellian when they let you wind up the ball of yarn. I have a hunch as to what you are doing but...

Santiago breaks out laughing. First he snickers, then he guffaws. He splits his sides with laughter when he sees my angry face. I promise myself not to leave the room without getting even. I will do it.

"I do not discard that Fraga may return"

[Question] What can you tell me about the right as an alternative? What do you think about the progress of Fraga, is he the replacement...?

[Answer] I believe the vote that will provide strength is in the center and left, not in the right. At least for a few years. The progress by Fraga is not due to a strategy of generation change. Fraga committed the error of believing himself to be the alternative of the center. It has been seen clearly that he is not. He is the natural chief of the parliamentary and democratic right of this country and I do not discard that he will return to face the general elections. However, I do discard the notion that Fraga may be an alternative to Felipe, much less do I see Hernandez Mancha...

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Because...he does not have the weight. He offers the image of a extraparlimentary "missino". Too much demagoguery, too much levity...When Felipe had managed to give the right a serious and democratic context, Hernandez Mancha arrives and...I do not know...my impression is that this boy has taken everything and ridicules it, including himself.

"I would erase the Civil War"

[Question] Santiago, do you regret something? Would you erase something from your life?

[Answer] I would erase the Civil War from my life and from that of all the Spaniards. I would erase my 40 years in exile. I am sorry of having made harsh, subjective and impatient political judgements against Franco's men.

[Question] Would you erase having trained such political "creatures" as Curiel, Antonio Gutierrez or Gerardo Iglesias, who then turned against you?

[Answer] That cannot be erased! Life sometimes...betrays one. If I reproach myself it is for not having managed to have them continued playing a positive role instead of a negative role. However, I harbor no resentment against them. I have committed faults against others and I want them forgiven. How can I not pardon the faults of others?

[Question] For you, who do not believe in God and, therefore, make your own law, what does being good mean? What does being bad mean?

[Answer] Being good means...being honest and to try, with deeds, for the happiness of all. Being bad means knowingly harming others, placing your own happiness and interests above those of the rest...Being good means loving well. Being bad means not loving.

May I tell you something, Pilar? It is more worthy to be good, or to try to be good when you do not believe in the rewards of the hereafter, than when you believe in them.

[Question] It is more worthy before whom? If there is no "before whom" why do you want to be worthy?

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PAPER EXAMINES TRENDS IN POLL OF PARTY LEADERS' POPULARITY

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 5 Apr 87 p 9

[Article by Hans O. Alfredsson]

[Text] Carl Bildt has learnt that it may be difficult winning the support of the Swedish people as the new party leader. But Bengt Westerberg had an equally difficult time at first, and Gosta Bohman was in an equally unfavorable initial situation as Bildt.

This may be deduced from the polls on the population's confidence in its party leaders carried through by Sifo since the late sixties.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET has examined percentage figures and graphs and sought to analyze the attraction among the voters of the current and recently resigned party leaders.

Sifo has each time asked a statistical section of the Swedish people the following question: "Does (party leader's name) inspire trust?" The result has subsequently been converted into percentages.

Sifo's polls confirm other polls which show that things have been difficult for Carl Bildt since he became spokesman for the Conservative Party in the late summer of 1986. At any rate, Bildt appears to have had difficulty so far in convincing the Swedish people of his excellence in the role.

Same Result

The most recent Sifo poll, which was carried through in late February and early March, gave the following results:

Carl Bildt (Conservative Party) 17 percent, Bengt Westerberg (Liberal Party) 39, Olof Johansson (Center Party) 15, Ingvar Carlsson (Social Democrats) 51, and Lars Werner (Left Party Communists) 19 percent.

Bildt has participated in two Sifo polls since he became party leader. Both have given the same result, 17 percent. At the same time, the most recent poll of SVENSKA DAGBLADET/Sifo shows that the Conservatives just now seem to have settled steadily at a level approximately 3 percentage points below the election result in 1985.

It is easy to understand if these messages give rise to concern among strategists and members of the Conservative Party.

But it may also be easily forgotten that it actually is not unusual for new party leaders to get a slow start.

Bohman Good Example

Carl Bildt's predecessor and father-in-law Gosta Bohman is a good example. He succeeded Yngve Holmberg as party leader in 1970 after an open struggle which attracted much attention. At the final stage, Holmberg created great trust among 10 percent of the electorate, according to the Sifo polls.

Gosta Bohman made some gains, to 15 percent, but in both of his initial polls he had a worse result than experienced by Carl Bildt in corresponding polls. Only in 1973 did Bohman start reaching a level of nearly 30 percent. During the last few years, Bohman was the nonsocialist party leader whom the Swedish people liked the best. In 1980, the year prior to his resignation, he received a support of 32 percent.

Confidence Dropped

The present chairman of the Liberal Party, Bengt Westerberg, obtained well over 18 percent in his first poll. Subsequently his support dropped to 16 percent in two polls in 1984. Only in June 1985, a few months prior to the election, he made some gains, to 23 percent, and subsequently his support increased steeply: 47 percent in September, 49 percent in February 1986.

In the poll that was carried through during the election month of September 1985, Westerberg, incidentally, received more support than anybody else (Olof Palme was second with 32 percent).

Lars Werner, leader of the Left Party Communists, has had the very worst point of departure. Since he succeeded the popular C.H. Hermansson, who received a support of 20 percent in his last polls, Werner was told by Sifo that only 6 percent of the Swedish people supported him.

Werner Gaining Ground

On Werner it may be said that he has been gaining ground over the years. Slowly but surely he has been gaining increasingly greater support among the electorate. During the last few years, he has been at the same level as that of C.H. Hermansson, but it has taken him a decade to reach that level.

Nobody has had a start like Ingvar Carlsson. When after the murder of Olof Palme he suddenly had to become party chairman and prime minister in March of last year, 61.7 percent of the Swedish people answered that they had great confidence in him. That is a record-high figure in the Sifo polls. Incidentally, in the poll that was carried through after the murder of Palme, all party leaders received greater support than normally.

In the two most recent polls, August 1986 and February 1987, Ingvar Carlsson received a support of 51 percent. He thus continues to receive far greater support than all party leaders (Palme's support stayed at a level of about 30 percent).

Collapse of Support Among Electorate

The party leaders who have entered the scene since 1970 received the following support in their initial polls:

Gosta Bohman 15 percent, Ulf Adelsohn 25, Carl Bildt 17.

Per Ahlmark 25 percent, Ola Ullsten 29, Bengt Westerberg 18.

Thorbjorn Falldin 43 percent, Karin Soder 28, Olof Johansson 15.

Olof Palme 48 percent (took office 1969: first poll 1970), Ingvar Carlsson 62.

Lars Werner 6 percent.

According to Sifo, in the 5 years he was leader of the Conservatives, Ulf Adelsohn received greater support than the support hitherto received by Carl Bildt. Adelsohn started at a high level following Bohman's departure, climbed to a level of about 30 percent but dropped rapidly at the end of the election campaign in 1985 (from 26 to 16 percent in 3 months).

Ola Ullsten received 29 percent after he succeeded Per Ahlmark (Ahlmark received 15 percent in his last poll), remained at that level as prime minister of the Liberal government but experienced a disastrous collapse of his support the following years. After the election in 1982 when the Liberal Party became slightly larger than the Left Party Communists, 3 (!) percent of the Swedish people supported Ullsten in the polls.

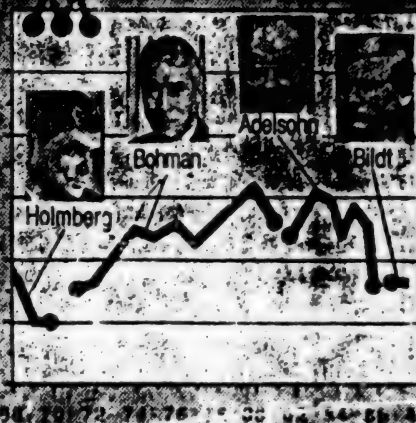
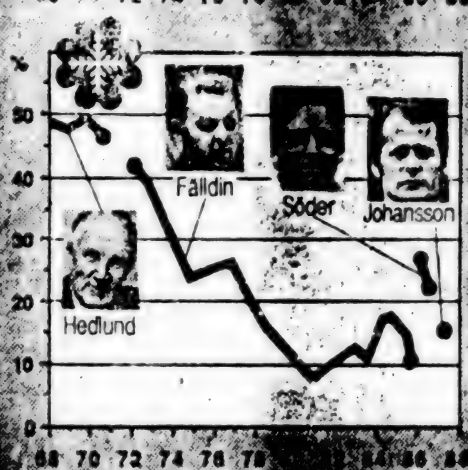
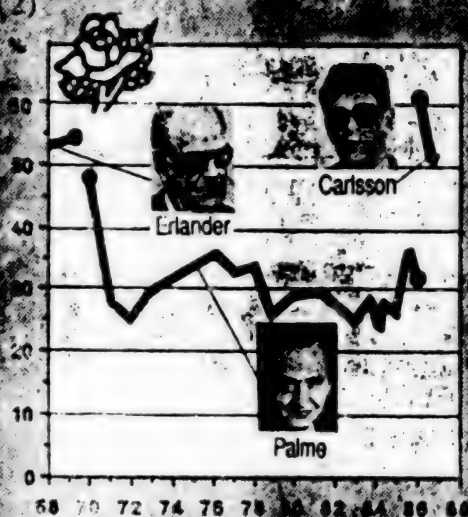
Downward Trend for Falldin

Thorbjorn Falldin also started at a high level of support, at 43 percent, after succeeding Gunnar Hedlund (whose support was about 50 percent in his last polls). With certain delays, among other things, during the first government years, his support declined. In 1981, Falldin's support had declined to 8 percent, in September 1985 it was 10 percent.

Karin Soder got 28 and 22 percent, respectively, in her two polls, thus more than twice the support of Falldin. According to Sifo, she received greater support as party leader than, for example, the support given to Carl Bildt so far.

Partiledarnas förtroende hos svenska folket

Såpe fråga lod: Inger du till förtroende? (2)
Diagrammen visar ja-svar i procent



(4)

Att vinna och behålla svenska folkets gunst är ofta som att åka berg och dalbana. Det har partiledarna fått erbjuda genom åren.

Diagrammens kurvor startar från resultaten av de första Sifo-mätningarna, inte från när partiledaren tillträdde sin post.

Key:

1. Party leaders' support among Swedish people
2. Sifo's question: Do the following politicians inspire great confidence?
3. The graph shows Yes answers in percentages
4. Gaining and retaining the support of the Swedish people is often like a roller coaster experience. The party leaders have learnt this over the years.
The curves of the graphs start with the results of the first Sifo polls, not when the party leader took up his post.

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WERNER REELECTED AT VPK CONGRESS BUT LSW FEUD CONTINUES

Applauds USSR, Attacks SDP

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 12 May 87 p 12

[Article by Ake Ekdahl: "Werner Looks Towards Kremlin: 'Feldt Going To The Right'"]

[Text] The relationship of the Left-Wing Communist Party (VPK) with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is improving, while relations with the Swedish Social Democrats deteriorate. Lars Werner, the VPK leader, is behind this final analysis.

On Monday Werner had appealed to the mass media to report on the approaching party congress and the 70th anniversary of the Communist Party.

"Today our relationship with the Social Democrats is a bit strained," Werner said. "This is due to the unprecedented turn to the right being carried out in economic policy by finance minister Feldt. Feldt is acting just like the old, deplorable conservative policy. Workers sit on their hands and the big profits from businesses don't go into new investment," he added.

"When Feldt wants to increase living costs with higher taxes, to strengthen the budget by taking money from the cities and making workers observe restraint in their wage demands, then the VPK refuses to go along," Werner declared.

The Social Democrats have threatened the VPK they will dissolve parliament and call for new elections if Feldt is blocked in parliament. Most recently communications minister Sven Hulterstom shook his fist at Werner.

"We can't swallow that sort of thing. The Social Democrats shouldn't make so many threats. Hold new elections, then. Rents, the cities and wages are good election issues for the VPK," Werner said.

The VPK leader said he had never consciously brought about the creation of a nonsocialist government, but he did not want to guarantee unbroken loyalty for keeping a Social Democratic government in power. Werner estimates a new election would still produce a socialist majority, but with a VPK which had been strengthened.

Six-Hour Work Day

This May's congress is strongly directed towards the 1988 election and the main theme is a call for a six-hour work day. Werner has been out traveling across the country and could report good support in the party. That his leadership is being questioned and that five members are competing with him for the party leader's position he takes to be healthy indications.

The new openness in the Soviet Union is benefiting the VPK, Werner believes. He interprets the signals to mean less interference in the communist parties of other countries.

The VPK's relationship to the Soviet Union is a perennial congress issue. This year as well the party leadership is split over how explicit its criticism of the Soviet Union should be.

The VPK is inviting guests from the communist parties of Cuba, China, Japan, the Soviet Union, from the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and several African liberation movements in addition to a large number of left-wing European parties. The invitation is not to the congress, just for the anniversary itself, for "practical reasons."

"After the Italian Communist Party, the VPK in Sweden is the party which gathers the widest international attendance," said Werner looking proud.

NY DAGA Hot Issue

The survival problem of NY DAG, the party newspaper, will be a hot issue at the congress. Fewer than half the party's members subscribe to the newspaper. The party's executive board has not been able to carry out the investigation into the newspaper which the previous congress mandated, and criticism of the newspaper's low quality has been sharp.

The party leadership nevertheless wants to operate NY DAG as an outward-looking national newspaper with a fairly high degree of editorial freedom. VPK INFORMATION will continue to be just a members' newspaper for internal debate, and SOCIALISTISK DEBATT will continue as a theoretical journal. New allocations out of the party treasury are promised to NY DAG.

It is also expected that demands will be made for a more pronounced profile on disarmament.

"I won't be surprised," Werner said, "if the congress comes up with a complete halt to Swedish arms exports."

Plan For Collective Leadership

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 19 May 87 p 11

[Article by Ake Ekdahl: "Lars Werner Stays With Less Power"]

[Text] Lars Werner will stay on as VPK chairman, but in the future the party's leadership will be a collective one. In practice, Werner will share

the position of party leader with three vice chairmen and one executive committee chairman. All four are members who have sharply criticized Werner's leadership.

This model for new VPK leadership is being recommended by a unanimous elections committee before the Saturday opening of the party congress.

The three vice chairmen will be Viola Claesson, who is responsible for women's and environmental issues; Jorn Svensson, in charge of ideological issues; and Gudrun Schyman, who is in charge of peace and disarmament issues.

Werner is being dropped as the chairman of the executive committee and being replaced by Bertil Mabrink, who, together with party secretary Kenneth Kvist, speaks for the party.

It is far from certain that the congress will swallow this solution to the VPK's problem of maintaining peace within the party.

Dissatisfied

That Werner himself is not satisfied emerged from comments he made on Monday to the effect that several proposals ought to be discussed at the congress. He is willing to see the party's leadership expand, but does not see himself as a figurehead without any real influence on the VPK's future. This he made clear at an elections committee press conference in which he participated.

"I could spend my time fishing for herring," Werner joked, bravely deflecting the question of what would remain of party policy when the others had had their own.

Werner refuses to admit that he will now see his power in the party limited.

"I've always known how long the rope was," he said.

Lennart Beijer, chairman of the elections committee, disclosed that the party had thoroughly discussed dissatisfaction with Werner as party leader, and in the meeting with the press said that dissensions existing between those being recommended for leadership positions and those in power in the party must be swept aside.

"Something's got to be changed and the best thing for the party is for Werner to remain as chairman but also for the leadership to be expanded to more people," Beijer said.

Esprit De Corps

In a written statement, the elections committee said that the esprit de corps in the leadership had to be strengthened, that members' knowhow should be made the most of, that environmental and women's policies are to be beefed up and that the party's ideological profile should be conveyed with greater consistency.

The choice of the new quartet of leaders, or "the gang of four," as it has been dubbed, complies with demands for changes made by members, the elections committee wrote in its statement.

At the last conference, as a concession to criticisms of Werner, Viola Claesson was chosen as vice chairman. Recently she quit her position in protest against Werner's running of the party. She has now been persuaded to continue.

Jorn Svensson has openly shown his dissatisfaction with Werner and agreed to run against him for the post of party leader.

Gudrun Schyman is unknown outside of the party's innermost circles. She is a social worker in Simrishamn, but is returning to Stockholm. She sits on the executive committee and is one of those who has criticized Werner in the same way Claesson has.

New Solution

Bertil Mabrink, the parliamentary group leader, was chosen as vice chairman for the same reasons as Claesson was three years ago.

"Werner will accept this solution if the congress doesn't come up with something better," he said. He objected to the mass media's fixation with the party leader and took it for granted that all 35 members of the party's board knew their duty and were moving in the same direction.

"The new division of power will mean, for instance, that Viola Claesson will have a freer hand to conduct VPK's environmental policy," Lennart Beijer explained.

Paper Comments On Challenge

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 19 May 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Split Collective At The VPK"]

[Text] Lars Werner will remain as the leader of the VPK, but in the future his position will be limited. In a proposal for new party leadership agreed upon by the elections committee, it was recommended that the party board name as vice chairmen Viola Claesson and Jorn Svensson--two of Werner's most prominent critics--together with Gudrun Schyman, who until now has been an unknown in national politics. Bertil Mabrink, who is also seen as an opponent of Werner's, is to replace him as chairman of the executive committee. Kenneth Kvist, who has been mentioned as a possible alternative to Werner, is to remain on as party secretary.

The elections committee thus deliberately is allowing those antagonisms which exist within the VPK to be reflected in the party leadership as well. Viola Claesson has just quit as vice chairman; she put the blame for cooperational difficulties within the present VPK leadership on Lars Werner.

For several years Jorn Svensson has openly acted as Werner's most outspoken critic, on major as well as minor matters--in a recent interview with SVENSKA DAGBLADET he complained that the party leader was taking part in an advertising campaign for something as useless as sour milk!

Together these three will now represent the VPK to the outside world while Mabrink runs the party, Viola Claesson has a more independent say on environmental and women's policy, and Jorn Svensson sharpens the party's ideological profile. What Lars Werner's assignment will be was not as well clarified when Lennart Beijer, chairman of the elections committee, presented the proposal. It became clear that a majority of the elections committee did not want to make new selections, but that in the end continued strong local support for Werner tipped the scales.

Yesterday Lars Werner himself chose to keep the door open to alternatives to the elections committee's proposal. But in practice Werner ought to have few opportunities to get the party congress to reject a package deal coming from a united elections committee, at least if he wants to avoid an open fight about himself. It is nevertheless possible to expect that Werner's opponents will demand binding commitments from him before it is time to choose a party chairman. If so, then the congress as well will be prevented from deviating from the elections committee's proposal to the party's board--and the party presidium too.

The elections committee hopes that a collective leadership will remedy the VPK's inability to project its policy. But we can rather expect growing uncertainty concerning what the party truly stands for, when the congress once again elects to cover over its antagonisms temporarily. For many voters, it will still be hard to reconcile Jorn Svensson's tough ideological message with Lars Werner's affable conciliatory spirit.

The VPK is living dangerously. A hamstrung Werner is hardly the vote getter the party needs in the next electoral campaign--and what about the Social Democrat who votes tactically for Jorn Svensson!

Goteborg District Supports Werner

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 21 May 87 p 12

[Article by Kirstin Sedvallson: "Werner Gets Strong Support in Goteborg"]

[Text] Lars Werner is receiving strong support from the left. In Goteborg men and women of the VPK are turning out for their party leader. By a vote of 17 to 1, the Goteborg delegates to this weekend's party congress in Stockholm said they want Werner to continue as party chairman without being tied down by three party vice chairmen.

"It wouldn't be reasonable for there to be candidates from the party leadership to be running against Lars Werner for election to the chairmanship," said Kaj Andersson, chairman for the Goteborg district, after Tuesday evening's vote.

The Goteborg delegates are generally very critical of the election committee's overstepping its authority and presenting a proposal about how the executive committee will look following its suggestion to put Lars Werner out as chairman.

In his place, according to the elections committee's proposal, there will be three vice chairmen, and proposed have been Viola Claesson, Gudrun Schyman and Jorn Svensson.

These three have expressed severe criticism of Lars Werner.

"Adding these people to the executive committee...isn't that solidifying problems that have to be solved?" Kaj Andersson asked the doubting Goteborg group.

But the fact that the Goteborg delegates with one exception have protested against the elections committee's proposal and support Lars Werner does not, however, mean that they are wholeheartedly enthusiastic about the policies and the composition of the party's board.

"So many members of parliament shouldn't be on it, rather it should reflect the party as a whole," said delegate Mona Johansson, a cook from Goteborg.

Metal worker Christer Haagman wants to see new people on it, a lot of women and men who will fight for the environment.

"I have a lot of faith in Viola Claesson because she's working on issues for the future, like the environment, in an important and decisive way," Christer Haagman said.

Norrbotten Delegation Backs Werner

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 23 May 87 p 12

[Article: "Werner's Support Group"]

[Text] A Norrbotten delegation 25 people strong is going to the VPK congress in Stockholm on Saturday to do everything it can to maintain the old order, with Lars Werner as sole party leader.

"Most of us will try to stop the elections committee's proposal," said Bertil Larsson from Boden, one of the congress members from Norrbotten.

Bertil Larsson is the Norrbotten nominee for a position on the party board and he is very critical of the elections committee's action.

"We are also disappointed that Paul Lestander, the Norrbotten district's party leader, has had a say in the elections committee's proposal. I wouldn't mind if his behavior meant he wouldn't be put on the parliamentary ballot in the coming election."

Background To Current Problems

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 23 May 87 p12

[Article by Ake Ekdahl: "Bolsheviks Who Almost Became Housebroken"; first paragraph is DAGENS NYHETER's introduction]

[Text] Today Lars Werner opens the VPK's 28th party congress in Stockholm. It would have been his last as party leader if the attempted coup in the elections committee had succeeded. No one dared hold the handle if the axe was going to fall and Werner was going to have a chance to withdraw decisively from the crisis of confidence in the party leadership. The VPK's history swarms with party conflicts.

It has taken the Communists 20 years to become somewhat housebroken in the Swedish parliament. In the 50 years before that, Communists were viewed with great suspicion, almost as Russian Bolsheviks, undependable, traitors to the people's home, revolutionaries and pests. And they certainly did pester, but most of the time they pestered one another.

In the eyes of the general public, the Left-Wing Communist Party, the VPK, still has to live with the label of a democratically dubious Russian party. The Communists have themselves to blame. Even today they creep like the cat around hot porridge when basic democracy is talked about.

In the last ten years, since Lars Werner threw out the Moscow Communists on NORRSKENSFLAMMAN [a Lulea newspaper], things have gotten better.

Things have even been downright promising in recent years. But adjusting communism to the people's home's democracy has its price. True Stalinists are still working hard against this in the party's far crannies.

Real Roughhouse

The history of communism in Sweden is a checkered one. Often events have been real roughhouses.

As a part of a world party, the Swedish section was supposed to propagandize for the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Union. Stormy party meetings and party splits have dominated the party throughout its 70-year history.

It was as recently as 1977 that Werner settled accounts with Alf Lowenborg and Rolf Hagel, the last Stalinists. The process of renewal was an attempt to break the party's isolation. Greater national independence would increase party legitimacy in the eyes of ordinary people.

In recent weeks the VPK has hit on a new party program in which the party, in words, at least, agrees to play according to the rules of a democracy. The current struggle is less about ideology and direction and more about Lars Werner as a person and the way he is running the party.

The absence of workers has always troubled the VPK. The process of renewal gave the party the look of a party which was humanitarian, a friend of the environment and striving for equality, a party in which peace and freedom were words of honor. Criticism has been directed against bureaucracy, centralism and unfairness towards the weak in society. None of this conflicts with Marxism.

Break Away From The Social Democratic Party

Trustworthiness in parliament wavered when the party was called upon for its view of how a responsible national budget ought to look. The financing of measures has never worried the VPK.

Werner's anti-VAT and environmental reformers have a blazing red history which started with a fullblown party scuffle within the Social Democratic Party in the revolutionary year of 1917.

In the electoral diagram above are noted all the milestones which for one reason or another have affected the history of the party ever since.

1917. The Left-Wing Social Democratic Party of Sweden (SSV) is founded after a break among Social Democrats. The reasons for this are the Russian Revolution and an uncertain position on the First World War within the International Social Democratic Party and an independent youth federation which created the framework of the new party.

1919. The SSV joins the Communist International, the Comintern.

1920. The Comintern holds its second world congress and adopts Lenin's 21 theses calling for revolutionary discipline.

The Party Splits

1921. The SSV adopts the Comintern's theses. Changes name and becomes the Communist Party of Sweden. Zeth Hoglund becomes party leader. Thirty-four delegates to the congress who voted against the theses found their own party in the middle of a tumultuous congress. Ivar Vennerstrom puts himself at the head of a new left-wing party.

1924. A third party split. Hoglund refuses to submit to Comintern discipline. With high drama, the party splits when the party newspaper is occupied. In the election Hoglundites receive 32,000 votes. Comintern communists receive 63,000. Hoglund later returns to the Social Democrats.

1928. The Comintern becomes ultra-left-wing. The leaders of the Communist Party of Sweden (SKP), Nils Flyg and Karl Kilbom, carry a soft line. Conflict with Hugo Sillen and Sven Lindrot, who are faithful to Moscow.

1929. Fourth party split. The minority under Sillen takes over party headquarters after a coup. Two groups, the Kilbomists and the Sillenists, join the Communists. The newspaper NY DAG is established. The SKP's password

is class against class. The enemy is Social Democrats, who are called social fascists. The method of struggle is wildcat strikes.

1932. Kilbomists get 5.3 percent, Sillenists 3.0 in the election.

1934. Kilbomists adopt the name Socialist Party, SP.

1937. New factional struggle. Flyg takes over the SP after Kilbom. The party disappears little by little.

New Struggles

1939. The SKP defends the Hitler-Stalin pact.

1940. The SKP to the rear. In the Finnish-Russian winter war the SKP takes the Soviet Union's position. NY DAG does not mention the occupation of Norway and Denmark. The newspaper is sequestered. The SKP is viewed as treasonous.

1941. Germany attacks the Soviet Union.

1943. The Comintern is dissolved. The SKP receives some general European communist sympathies.

1944. The SKP goes from three to 15 seats in parliament. In the 1946 municipal elections the SKP receives 11.2 percent of the votes. The SKP seeks technical electoral cooperation with the Social Democrats.

1945. New popular democracies in Eastern Europe inspire Sven Lindrot to found a Swedish workers front to oppose the Social Democrats.

1948. The Prague coup. New communist international, the Cominform. Beginning of the Cold War. Confidence in the communists in Sweden decreases.

1951. Hilding Hagbert party leader. New row over relations with the Social Democrats. A Stalinist group breaks away and becomes the Communist Workers League of Sweden.

Hungary

1952. Catalina affair in the Baltic Sea.

1953. The SKP has close contacts with Moscow. Swedish party workers attend the party school in Moscow.

1956. The Soviet invasion of Hungary. "A counterrevolution," writes NY DAG. The SKP is even more isolated.

1958. The National Supplementary Pension Insurance (ATP) election. Communists withdraw some of their candidates in certain electoral precincts.

1962. During the 50's the communists lose an entire generation of members. The election is a nibble from the bottom. Calls for a line independent of Moscow. Models in Denmark and Norway.

1964. Congress begins the process of renewal. C. H. Hermansson new party leader.

1967. Name changes to Left-Wing Communist Party, VPK.

1968. The progress of the left stopped by the occupation of the Karhus in Stockholm and the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in August. The left splits into a larger number of small groups.

1972. New party program. Swedification begins. Revolutionary phrases remain.

1973. Students excluded by VPK. At the same time, fewer manual laborers.

Mass Meetings

1974. The VPK wavers on its view of parliamentary government after the Military Intelligence Service (IB) affair and the debate over the constitution. Mass meetings become fashionable.

1975. Hermansson leaves after ten years of internal party struggles. The faction around NORRSKENSFLAMMAN never forgives Hermansson for his condemnation of the coup in Czechoslovakia. Lars Werner takes over.

1977. New party split. Purge of Moscow communists. They found a new party, the Communist Workers Party (APK). Alf Lowenborg and Rolf Hagel become the wild men of parliament. The APK receives 0.3 percent of the votes in the election.

1980. The popular referendum on nuclear power legitimizes the VPK, among other parties in the parliament. The Center Party and the VPK establish line 3 for the winding down of nuclear power.

1981. The Soviet whisky submarine 137 runs aground on the Karlskrona archipelago. Submarine violations in the Harsfjard of the Stockholm archipelago.

The VPK condemns the violations.

Housebroken

1982. Olof Palme acknowledges indirectly that, from the democratic point of view, the VPK can now be regarded as housebroken for parliament. In the autumn Palme wants to raise VAT two percent to pay for electoral promises. In the election, the VPK had spoken out against a VAT on food and Werner forces Palme to negotiate in the open from the speaker's chair in parliament. VPK goes along with the VAT increase in exchange for further milk subsidies.

1985. At the congress, new steps on the democraticization line. More mutual understanding policy with the Social Democrats in parliament. Irritation and unease within the party over a vaguer VPK profile.

1987. Sneaky coup attempt to eject Werner from the post of party leader.

Werner Addresses Congress

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 24 May 87 p 13

[Article by Ake Ekdahl: "VPK Congress: Werner Calls For Openness"]

[Text] "It is the VPK's responsibility to take part in the work of parliament. Regardless of the conditions. This work was a bit harder than I had expected. Forgive me for this."

With this message Lars Werner opened the VPK's anniversary congress in Folkets Hus in Stockholm. His speech was met with long, sustained applause, indicating the party's direction and identity.

"To fight only when the opposition is small and victory is certain would be to turn convenience into a principle. Merely to fight for our profile would be putting ourselves above the class struggle and turning party selfishness into a principle."

"There is a policy in which the worker class pays dearly so our party can appreciate its profile in its own mirror. Such things thoroughly harm men. Such things will cost the party dearly in the long run," said Werner.

He returned several times to the risks of the VPK's retreating to an isolated existence. He cautioned his comrades against Marxist navel-gazing and consequent internal struggles. Each time Werner received thunderous assent from the delegates.

"Weathervane"

"The principles of distancing and detachment give the leader an opportunity to alter the identity of the VPK. The only profile the party gets, then, is that the party is docked far away from reality. We become a weathervane."

"We find the party's identity in our daily political dealings. It is by these dealings that people will recognize us."

In the congress meeting rooms it was reported how Werner polished and rewrote his speech several times in recent days.

The 75-minute speech was also unusually exhaustive and described the party's difficulties, aims, and prospects.

New moral concepts, anguish in the face of shocking events, growing mass movements for the environment, peace and women and unease about the future have altered the climate for all parties, not the least for the VPK.

All Issues

"As a party, we must work on all issues which society faces. We are criticized and certainly deserve to be so as not to appear as equally powerful on these different issues. But the conditions are different for a movement than they are for a political party."

"We are accused of being part of the establishment. Working in parliament and in the cities means there are certain limits. But we will not leave this battlefield without a fight," Werner said.

Demands that Werner leave the party leader post are based in part on the way he runs the party's work in parliament. His predecessor, C. H. Hermansson, addressed the matter in an observation about the party's activity.

"I have been asked to reiterate my old call to the congress for order in the party. But," Hermansson said, "today the situation is not the same one we faced at the end of the 60's. We will have an open debate in the VPK and if I were to use strong words, I would say that there has got to be a goddam debate in a party."

Board Responsibility

Hermansson said that the party leader's role could be questioned at a congress on purely basic grounds. And, he reminded the meeting, according to the rules, it is the party's board which is the leadership of the party.

Furthermore: if things go badly for the VPK, then there is collective responsibility for the policy which was carried out and it is senseless to try to whip up a personality conflict.

In the corridor outside the meeting hall Hermansson added the following for DAGENS NYHETER.

Werner has done his job well.

There is no political party which has the answers to the issues which society faces today and the threatening images people see before them, Hermansson said.

"Socialism or catastrophe," Marx said of this depiction of things.

Instead Hermansson said:

"Sweden has become a morass of arms smuggling, prime minister's murders, the trade of options and questions about the morals of justice ombudsmen. We have a sticky climate," things Hermansson, "on which all parties and popular movements must set to work."

Hermansson believes the parties are too weak in relation to other forces in society. In this respect, work in parliament is too bureaucratically ponderous. All of these things taken together are the roots of the dissatisfaction which has taken the form of calls for Werner's ouster.

Other party leaders before Werner were caught for similar reasons. Hermansson named Falldin, among others.

Strong Support

The debate which followed Werner's introduction was characterized by strong support for the party leader.

In the evening there were also discussions about the prospects for rearranging the agenda so the party board could be chosen first and the party chairman afterwards. Then Werner could know what board he would have behind him so he could accept reelection to the post of party chairman.

He could also better interpret the congress's support of him as a person before taking on a new three-year term of office.

With Respect

Werner concluded his address by challenging the congress to be open in discussions. But he added:

"We now have complete 'glasnost' about personality issues. Let us have open debate, but with respect for one another's view."

In his speech, Werner had also compared the VPK's openness in recent decades to the openness which has now been shown by the Soviet Communist Party. In this comparison, the VPK emerged almost as a model for big brother.

"We welcome the process of renewal in the Soviet Union."

At that point the Soviet observers, who up until then had mostly listened apathetically to the communist leader's remarks about the VPK row, paid attention and made notes.

Power Fight Remains Undecided

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 24 May p 2

[Editorial: "Lars Werner Fights Back"]

[Text] For the first time, the opening of the VPK congress gave a very clear picture of what the conflicts within the party are about. The contrast between Viola Claesson's opening speech and Lars Werner's introduction to the debate on the party's goals was striking.

Viola Claesson's attack of the Social Democrats went further than anything that has been heard in modern times from a communist politician in our country. She described Kjell-Olof Feldt's third path strategy as "the most right-wing a government has dared embark on in Sweden." In the next breath she characterized this policy as "history's quietest right-wing coup" and asked the following rhetorical question:

"Did we perhaps see in the murder of Olof Palme just the beginning of a larger political drama?"

In the form of a hint, Viola Claesson has supplemented the party's plot theories about the Palme murder. According to Jorn Svensson's CIA theory, which by comparison is more believable than Claesson's, it would appear that in some way Feldt may have participated in the murder.

Recently Lars Werner has had a majority against him, both on the party's board and in the parliamentary group. His speech to the congress was shaped into an agreement with those groups within the party, represented by Viola Claesson among others, who adopt a more market-oriented policy of governing as a pretext to produce a general distancing from the Social Democrats. In the speech there were also different indications directed against those who --like Jorn Svensson--suggest that the VPK has fallen away from Marxism; Werner warned against confessional theories and tendencies toward sectarianism.

The struggles within the VPK have forced Lars Werner to formulate his ideas more clearly than he was wont to, he sees that it is impossible for the VPK to get out of parliamentary work with its prospects for agreements and other forms of influence. Ideologically speaking, Werner wants to shift the party away from its emphasis on class struggle and a rigid policy of division to a greater awareness of environmental issues, peace issues, etc. Nonetheless Werner was not terribly precise when he spoke about a radical democratization, whose character was never delineated, as the VPK's most urgent need in the future.

On these basic political issues, Werner seems to have little to say to most people at the congress. But Jorn Svensson came up with an answer--and when one delegate wanted to have the election of the party board precede election of a party chairman, it became very clear that the struggle for power in the VPK is still not over. To have foot soldiers with you but many of the leaders of the party against you--that appears to be Lars Werner's dilemma in the midst of this struggle.

Paper On Werner Reelection

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 25 May 87 p 2

[Editorial: "The Conflicts Remain In The VPK"]

[Text] When Lars Werner was reelected as party leader without prior debate, he himself was the first one to admit the lack of real consensus. Werner promised the VPK congress he would function as a chairman for the entire party even if recently this had proven to be difficult.

He explained that conflicts beneath the surface over the party leader issue had been about the sort of the party the VPK will be, but added that debate about personality issues are frequently cast in other terms. The somewhat contradictory picture presented by Werner can be said to be indicative of the situation inside the VPK. Basically, the antagonisms inside the party

are of a political character; this was clear even at the preceding congress about two years ago when opposition to Werner also arose.

An outsider has limited opportunities to catch glimpses inside the still rather closed VPK in the period between congresses. An important reason internal antagonisms have become sharper is still to be found in the increasing tension between the party's parliamentary role and demands by party activists. The VPK has found it very difficult to manage the situation which arose out of the 1985 election, when the party was brought face to face with a call actively to support the Social Democrats' governing policy; this at a time when a common denominator between the two parties was scarcely to be found.

Differing opinions within the VPK as to how this situation ought to be handled have been reflected in various debates at the congress, both with regard to personality issues and ideology.

The tone of the congress has frequently been acrimonious and aggressive. The political antagonisms which have been laid bare during debate about the party program are so profound that we can wonder if the party is really standing on a common ideological base. The issue of the extent to which Marxism can be considered the foundation of scientific socialism or as a living ideology might appear to the outsider to be of lesser importance; nevertheless this did constitute a major point of division for the conference.

The new party program, which was eloquently defended during debate by party secretary Kenneth Kvist, certainly lies within the framework of a communist ideology. Socialism is thoroughly scientific, Sweden remains imperialist (despite protests from Goran Therborn, who worked on the earlier program commission) and there is still a lack of clarity about what should happen to parliamentary democracy after the revolution. Lars Werner, who has said in interviews that even communists' decisions have to be subject to change by a popular majority, does not have any clear support for his view in the party program.

Werner's attempt to bring in new thinking met with a good deal of opposition at the congress. Indeed we may wonder if the VPK leader stands firmly behind a party program in which the role of the working class is described in traditional Marxist style, even though Werner has called attention to the major social change which has taken place since the 30's, for instance. Neither is there in the program any further obvious traces of Werner's ambition of opening the VPK to stimuli from the environmental movement, the women's movement, the peace movement, etc. Rather debate at the congress concerned how ideas from these popular movements can be adapted to the established ideological framework; Marx and Lenin are effective weapons against those in the VPK who have shown themselves prepared for greater openness.

Just as political antagonisms, purely personality conflicts as well have struck deep. Attacks and insults have been so numerous that any reconciliation between the combatants can scarcely be expected. Those members of the parliament group who reject each other's work will hardly cooperate either in the future. The breach is between districts but also within delegations.

Looking at a savage exchange between Jorn Svensson and the chairman of the Skane district, one can draw the conclusion that some members of parliament have so fallen out with their home district that their nomination in the next election is in jeopardy.

Lars Werner can hardly walk unscathed through the struggles; among quite a few of his supporters within the party as well there is a feeling that the VP has landed in a backwater and that there has been far too many compromises. Whether or not Werner manages to influence the outcome of the impending election of the party's board, in the future he can expect to be subjected to pressure to hold a tighter line vis-a-vis the Social Democrats.

It remains for the government to draw its conclusions that the situation in parliament has been changed. How many withdrawn government proposals and defeats on votes in parliament can Ingvar Carlsson tolerate?

Werner Leader Slate Rejected

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 26 May 87 p 6

[Article by Ake Ekdahl: "Election Of Party Board A Defeat For Werner: Congress Did Not Solve VPK Crisis"]

[Text] Antagonisms within the highest ranks of the VPK remain unchanged. Party chairman Lars Werner finds himself in a weak position. Chances of a political collapse loom. An extra congress before the election may be the only remedy in order to create a quiet climate for work in the party.

Such is the situation in the Left-Wing Communist Party after Monday's election of a new party board.

Of the 34 regular members, nine are outspoken opponents of Lars Werner's, six or seven are reliable supporters of Werner's, and the others are in a neutral position, members who can be won by one or the other camp.

If Werner meets with opposition to the policy he wants to carry out, he will have to return to the congress and have clarified how much his term as party leader is worth. He is aware of the importance his personality has as an electoral locomotive for the VPK in next year's election and may wish to use this advantage with doubters in the party leadership.

The VPK And The Social Democratic Party

It is very hard to describe in simple terms the antagonisms within today's VPK. In brief, the struggle is about the VPK's role and its relationships with the Social Democratic government.

The Werner group has models in the Danish Socialist People's Party (SF) which off and on has worked in red-red cabinets. If need be, Werner is prepared to take part in a Social Democratic government. It is the party's obligation to take part in the coalition policy fight, Werner said in his opening address to the congress.

This is reflected in the fact that Werner received strong support in districts in which the VPK enjoys a strong position among different parliamentary groupings.

On the issues, the Svensson group does not need to be more critical of Social Democratic governing policy, but questions the forms. In this group are to be found proponents of more extra-parliamentary actions, and the similarities with the working methods used by various social movements are striking. There is also a certain amount of revolutionary romanticism and party liturgy to be found there as well. This will give the VPK a profile, it is believed.

Gavle, Kalmar

The group is strong in districts where the party is represented in parliament by thinner forces. Gavleborg and Kalmar are examples of this.

This antagonism is not to be confused with earlier splits within the VPK. Lennart Beijer, the chairman of the elections committee, put the matter in these terms:

"We agree about continuing the 1964 line about openness and independence. There are no half-Social Democrats or half-Stalinists here. What we have is growing criticism of how the party is being run."

From the old party board, ten members have left their positions, with a single exception voluntarily. The newly-elected members have not come out as critics of Werner's. There are opponents and supporters from the old party board.

As this edition was going to press, the final direction was not determined but only small changes could be expected via cuts at the last moment. Here is the elections committee's proposal in alphabetical order.

The letter abbreviations after names refer to who has expressed clear sympathy for either Werner or Svensson.

The New Leadership

Orjan Appelkvist, Sodertalje; Lennart Beijer, Hultsfred, S; Alexander Chrisopoulos, Goteborg; Viola Claesson, Kinna, S; Bitte Engzell, Stockholm; Ove Haarala, Malmberget, W; Lars-Ove Hagbert, Borlange, S; Birgit Hansson, Lingham; C. H. Hermansson, Stockholm, W; Margo Ingvardsson, Stockholm, W; Bjorn Johansson, Kristinehamn, W; Mari-Ann Johansson, Goteborg, W; Taina Kantola, Stockholm; Kenneth Kindblom, Jonkoping; Cristina Kvist, Linkoping; Kenneth Kvist, Stockholm; Vanja Larsson, Alingsas; Bo Leinerdahl, Umea; Karin Lentz, Akarp; Paul Lestander, Arjeplog, S; Karina Lindberg, Goteborg; Anders Meuller, Molndal; Gerd Mabrink, Gavle, S; Bertil Mabrink, Gavle, S; Monika Nordstrom, Vasteras; Torsten Norlander, Orebro, S; Margareta Olofson, Stockholm; Eva Petren, Lulea; Brit Rundberg, Stockholm, S; Gudrun Schyman, Simrishamn; Annika Stamfalt, Uppsala; Inger Svensson, Helsingborg; Jorn Svensson, Nymolla, S; Lennart Warmby, Vaxjo, W.

Heated Debate Over Elections

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 26 May 87 p 6

[Article by Kaa Eneberg: "Impending Paralysis Of Action"]

[Text] "Comrades, don't elect a party board whose greatest merit is that it is against party chairman Lars Werner! If you do that, we'll have a total blockage in the party board!"

This warning was delivered by VPK member of parliament Bo Hammar after an almost two-hour long debate Monday afternoon before a new VPK board was elected. Bo Hammar is one of Lars Werner's closest confidants.

Debate at the Folkets Hus was lively and almost equally divided for and against the elections committee's proposal. About 100 congress delegates felt challenged to debate the elections committee's proposal. Debate was begun when Lennart Beijer, the chairman of the elections committee, expressed deep personal disappointment at those VPK comrades who had "lost self-control" and pleaded for deletions from the candidate slates.

The Party's Best

He stated that the elections committee's aim was to create a better collective leadership for the party with its proposal.

"When did it become blameworthy to safeguard the party's best?" asked Lennart Beijer.

After declining "spiteful attacks," Beijer still admitted that the elections committee may have helped to create new problems for the party.

Sven Persson, a dissenter on the committee, spoke ironically about Beijer's speech about openness in the elections committee. Persson pointed out that his only reservations, which related to four people, were never once brought up in the congress's paper.

Several speakers thought Sven Persson would not have been the only dissenter if there had really been open debate in the elections committee.

Rolf Nilsson, chairman of the Skane district, protested loudly against the "polished account" he thought had been given of the elections committee's toils.

"Drop Jorn Svensson, Viola Claesson and Bertil Mabrink who plotted against Lars Werner," Nilsson demanded, getting as much applause as he did boos in response.

In several interviews Nilsson has stated that he will oppose Jorn Svensson's renomination to parliament.

Paralyzed?

Several delegates questioned the elections committee's work style and expressed the need for "a normal elections committee." Critics said that a party board had been proposed which will be completely incapable of working.

Most discussed the extent to which the party board and the party leader would go in the same or in different directions.

Anita Andersson, Stockholm, an official in the parliament group, talked warmly and animatedly about Jorn Svensson, Bertil Mabrink and Viola Claesson's major day-to-day contributions to parliamentary work. Several women pleaded the cause for Viola Claesson and the fight for the environment, which they were proud of.

Several voters had no use for the open criticism which had flourished in the newspaper columns during the party congress. After her harsh personal attacks on Lars Werner, Stockholm's Brit Rundberg would have to draw the consequences and of course leave the party board, debaters thought.

Support For Werner

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 26 May 87 p 6

[Article by Kaa Eneberg: "'Werner Will Not Become A Scapegoat'"]

[Text] "I voted to support Lars Werner quite simply because I refuse to turn him into a scapegoat for past policy, for which we now have collective responsibility."

So said Alexander Chrisopoulos, a Goteborg member of parliament who is a member of the VPK board, the storm center in the party's chaos.

Although Lars Werner won a clear personal victory by being reelected party leader, many like Chrisopoulos think that despite the consensus, what many view as the main problem--the failure to carry out worker policy--has not been solved.

"We're in a difficult position if we continue as we are now. By acting as a foundation for the Social Democratic government, at the very least we will limit those changes for the worse the government wanted to carry out."

Consensus over Lars Werner's reelection is clearly overshadowed in the minds of many who say that they voted for him only because "there was not alternative." Neither Jorn Svensson nor Viola Claesson were seen to be strong enough to be worth supporting.

Rundberg

Brit Rundberg, VPK at city hall, is one of those who wrote openly in the party organ against Lars Werner. But after Werner's reelection she went about

quite nervous at being thrown off the party board at the Folkets Hus and said she did not wish to talk about personality issues. She did not even wish to criticize policy which had been carried out in parliament but said that taking a position had to be discussed depending on the nature of the issues.

Many critics nevertheless chose to continue support for Werner and placed their hope in the so-called stronger collective solution thought to be the gist of the elections committee's proposal--to bring in opposition leaders as vice chairmen.

"Provided it turns out that way, I'm optimistic about the future," said member of parliament Tore Claeson, who thought that under Lars Werner's long leadership the party had been too centrally run.

Collective

"There's simply been too much Lars Werner and too little collective work," said Claeson, who since he joined the party in 1944 has seen a lot of party leaders come and go--Sven Lindroth, Hilding Hagberg and C. H. Hermansson.

Quite a few critics in the parliament group did not hold in their criticism during the present congress.

"The congress will go its own way, but you should know that there's a third way to influence the party. It's not just being for or against Lars Werner," said some who, when the congress frenzy was at its height, preferred to go back to the silent parliament building.

Some with seats on the party board said they wanted to wait and see about further personality elections.

"If there are too many ousters of people who want to question past policy, then there are enough of us who would think about leaving the party board," said one member who was certain of reelection.

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CSO: 3650/146

ADMIRAL CRITICIZES SDP SECURITY POLICY PROPOSALS

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 18 May 87 p 14

[Op Ed Article by Rear Admiral I.B. Rodholm: "Missed the Mark, Colonel"; first paragraph is AKTUELT introduction]

[Text] Rarely has a proposal concerning the Danish armed forces been cut down so unanimously in NATO as the Social Democratic Party's, writes Admiral Rodholm. He sharply remonstrates with the former chief of staff of the armed forces and discusses the navy's role in a future defense system.

AKTUELT carried an article by Colonel G.K. Christensen under the headline "Waste of Billions in Proposal for New Defense Gaffe." In it strong criticism is directed against the government's proposal, which is accused of having many loose ends. It is stated in the article that "for example, not even the government has been able to document the fact that the extra appropriations are necessary for the maintenance of a credible Danish defense system." Contrary to this, the colonel writes that "The Social Democratic proposal is in better agreement with the requirements of the present and future. It contains international perspectives concerning defense and detente, and it guarantees a good, healthy and credible Danish defense system."

These are strong words, and it would be gratifying if they were in agreement with the facts. But this is not the case.

Surely, rarely has any defense proposal been subjected to such unanimous and cutting criticism, both from NATO and national Danish quarters, as has been the case with the Social Democratic Party's discussion paper "Modernization of the Defense System." It is vague and unclearly written. It is based on a number of false assumptions. Some of the supporting statements are self contradictory. And the economic estimates are wrong. A few examples from the proposal will be given here.

In the discussion paper much is made of the fact that the defense system must be "non-threatening," and this applies also to our reinforcement agreements with other NATO countries. Interestingly enough, only our present navy appears to be "threatening," for our submarines and frigates are assigned to this category, and in addition to this they could seem provocative.

The theory that Denmark, by dispatching naval vessels to sail in the Baltic, would be able to threaten or provoke Russia is so absurd that no further argument is needed. In addition, keeping Danish ships away from the central and eastern parts of an international waterway out of fear of "provoking" could create an undesirable precedent.

After the publication of a report on a Danish submarine fleet from the Defense Ministry Advisory and Analysis Panel in November 1986, Knud Damgaard also made the following statement to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE: "The report clearly recommends submarines. I acknowledge this. But there are also mitigating circumstances, if one looks at future development. It interests me only in the sense that it is a useful tool. But seeing that we have submarines, there is certainly nothing for us to discuss in the coming compromise." The statement can indicate that in any case Knud Damgaard is on the point of changing his opinion in this question, but it can hardly be said to be crystal-clear. So further explanation could be in order.

It could also be interesting to know what is meant by "non-threatening" reinforcements. Presumably nuclear weapons may not be brought along. But what about weapons that could use both conventional and nuclear ammunition? Which reforms will the Social Democratic Party demand of the reinforcing countries, and what will be done if they cannot or will not follow these demands?

If submarines can be accepted, though provisionally, frigates will certainly also have to be approved as non-provoking. But seeing that we are to have a "coastally oriented" defense system, the navy's present ships of this type must be scrapped all the same. This is a consequence of the fact that, in part, "big" ships are claimed to be vulnerable, and, in part, many naval missions can allegedly be managed from land. There are many interesting things concerning this to read in the proposal.

One mission that is acknowledged to be important from Social Democratic quarters too is the laying of Danish mine fields in a threatening situation. Minelaying must be covered, seeing that an attacker will certainly not voluntarily let his freedom of movement be restricted, and it is emphasized in the proposal's appendix that minelayers are to be protected both against submarines and against surface ships, planes, helicopters and missiles. This protection is to be afforded "by means of the coastal defense and ships provided with naval target missiles and guns, with air force planes, and with air defense systems on land. In addition, submarines and other forms of underwater platforms or weapons must be safeguarded against."

This sounds fine, but elsewhere in the same appendix it is argued that, seeing that weapons systems for the defense of ships are very expensive--instead of equipping vessels with such defense systems--they should be concealed in bays or close by land, so that they are protected by land-based weapons. How these ships are to be able to protect minelayers when they themselves have to conceal themselves or seek the cover of land is unclear. And the confusion is increased when it is stated a few lines later in the text that small, fast vessels can conduct raids out in the Baltic. What is actually meant?

If the Social Democratic Party is in doubt with itself regarding how surface vessels ought to be used, there is no faltering as applied to the use of land-based weapons against targets at sea. It is claimed that batteries of naval target missiles and some multimissile launchers, which it is proposed be bought for the army, could be used with great effect. The only thing wrong is that an attacker will be able to sink Danish minelayers without risk, by letting its ships fire their missiles out of the range of the land-based batteries, for example. Effective protection therefore requires vessels stationed between any enemy and the ships that are to be covered, and these covering units ought to be outfitted with effective weapons--even if they cost money. This demands a certain minimum size, corresponding at present to our corvettes.

It says in subappendix A regarding the multimissile launchers, that they have firing power equivalent to that of a modern frigate. This is correct, only except for the fact that they will not be able to hit a moving target at sea, seeing that it will take so long to aim them that the ships fired at, even at low speed, will have moved away from the area hit by the missiles.

Many other examples of Social Democratic assumptions and estimates which do not hold water could be cited. Some of the gravest errors are in cost estimates. For one thing, about two billion kroner have been set aside for procurements for the air force, and one of the foreseen purchases is an air defense system which will be able to shoot down attack missiles. The only unfortunate thing is that the only weapons system existing in the Western world today that can be modified for this purpose is the American Patriot system, and it alone will cost considerably more than the two million. As far as the navy is concerned, the procurement of, among other things, four mobile land-based Harpoon batteries and six so-called Stanflex vessels is provided for. About two billion kroner are set aside for this and other purposes. The missile batteries will cost (with a very small supply of missiles) 750 million to 800 million kroner, and considerably more with a supply of ammunition corresponding to the estimated need. If the cost of the six ships and the other foreseen purchases are added to this, the two billion kroner will be exceeded by far.

If one is to characterize the Social Democratic discussion paper, it can be called--with minor rewriting of the headline cited--the "Errors of Billions in Proposal for New Defense Gaffe." And if the Social Democratic Party's proposal is to be compared with the government's proposal for "Danish Defense in Growth," the latter can be characterized as far more logical, to which can be added the fact that it is based on the world of reality and not of fantasy. It is true, of course, that the Social Democratic discussion paper is furnished with subappendixes and appendixes which provide far more elaborate explanations and more concrete presentations than is the case with the government's proposal. What what good is it when many of the premises put forth are wrong and the economic estimates are totally unrealistic? And then it can be well understood that the government did not want to sacrifice gunpowder on proving that the Social Democratic Party's proposal is not economically tenable!

Besides, Colonel Kristensen advances some, to put it very mildly, strange arguments to prove the claimed "waste of billions." Among other things, the length of the defense compromise period is first reduced by a year, and with this 800 million kroner are gained, which can well "be disregarded." Next, "two or three billion are fetched home," for materiel projects are discontinued as "irrelevant" when the period is shortened. Does the colonel really believe that a necessary project becomes "irrelevant" if its termination falls outside an agreed on compromise period, or what?

Much more could be said about both the Social Democratic discussion paper and Colonel G.K. Christensen's article, but space does not permit. Seen from defense's viewpoint, it is very regrettable that the distance between the principal compromise parties of up to now has become as great as is the case. But to push the blame for this onto the government and its proposal is completely wrong. Relations will not be settled better by an article like the one discussed here.

8831

CSO: 3613/99

CONSCRIPTS HAVING INCREASING DIFFICULTY COMPLETING TRAINING

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 17 May 87 pp 1, 2

[Article by Hans Larsen: "Sissies?"]

[Text] Danish draftees are finding it harder and harder to cope with the soldier's life. Some desert and others are sent home as psychiatric cases. More than 20 percent of the men can be rejected in the combat troops: Many cannot at all cope with the severe physical demands. Exercises on military obstacle courses especially demand sacrifices. There are soldiers who fear the encounter with the Nutcracker and other obstacles. But, as an officer puts it: "The sissies have to learn to overcome their fear."

The three soldiers stand and look alternately at one another and the obstacle they soon will have to cross for the first time. In front of them they have four barriers that vary in height--from a half a meter to two meters--while at the same time each barrier is placed a meter apart.

It is easy to think: Left, right, one, two, three. It is just as hard to pull oneself together for the approach, the four steps from barrier to barrier and the jump down into the sand. For who can guarantee that they will get so far at all without falling down before?

They do not say anything at the start. One bites his lip. He has completely forgotten that fear is a soldier's worst enemy. A sentence the officers have repeated again and again. On the other hand none of them knows that the same officers themselves are also not enthusiastic about the obstacle course.

The Nutcracker

Right from the beginning of their compulsory military service at the Farum Barracks, Palle Egemar, Teddy Jensen and Soren Petersen of the Second Armored Platoon of Engineers have known that one day they would stand face to face with the Nutcracker, the obstacle everyone fears.

When the three G.I.'s marched onto the obstacle course a few minutes ago together with the rest of the platoon, however, they were not aware that it would be now.

They all know beforehand of the prospect of many bruises, back injuries, broken legs and incredible pains in the testicles -from which comes the nickname the Nutcracker. The many rumors and stories are no different at the Farum Barracks than at the country's other places of service.

The obstacle course instructor, Lieutenant Westrup, demonstrates the obstacle. Taking big steps, he dashes over the barrier and lands safely in the sand. He does not show signs of anxiety for a second.

Egemar, Jensen and Petersen run up, jump up onto the first barrier, put their arms up onto the next and climb up to the top in this way. Not quite in accordance with military regulations, but it is, after all, the first time.

The Nutcracker is one of 17 more or less horrifying obstacles on the 500-meter long course. When the soldiers have been thoroughly instructed and have had an opportunity to try them all, they must be able to run through the entire course in 4 minutes and 20 seconds at the most. A hard-as-nails requirement that sends your heart up into your throat.

None of the country's draftees avoids a turn on the obstacle course. It is an element of military training. And though the obstacles keep the infirmaries and casualty departments busy, there are no plans to change them.

Most mishaps occur because the soldiers are afraid and lose confidence in themselves, and thereby their foothold too.

Valley of Sighs

The turn on the obstacle course begins with a five-meter-high rope ladder. The soldiers climb up, do a somersault around the bar, and jump down. Some do not dare to jump but crawl down. And the officers accept this solution.

"We do not force the soldiers to jump down, but of course we urge them to do it. And then there is also group pressure from the rest of the platoon besides," says First Lieutenant L. Kunov, who together with Lieutenant U. Vestrup explains what the individual obstacles are about and where the risk of injury is the greatest.

The jump down from the highest obstacles especially causes back and leg injuries. But low concrete walls can also cause very large skin abrasions when the exhausted soldiers dash at them.

While the rest of the platoon is training in the doghole, which is a meter long tube with just room enough for a human body, Egemar, Jensen and Petersen jump down into the Valley of Sighs. They have to pull themselves up again from the two-meter-deep hole.

The hole, which is one of the last obstacles on the course, is called the Valley of Sighs because it often happens that little tired soldiers' bodies do not get further. They just cannot do any more after a 400-meter-long punishment drill.

Broke a Leg

The harsh training produces strong muscles and tough skin. "But the obstacle course is first and foremost a tool to make the soldiers forget fear and give them the feeling that they are invincible. And it is obvious that the anxiety is overcome only through lots of training, which makes the individual familiar with the obstacles," says L. Kunov.

He admits that he himself can have problems with the course, which, by the way, he runs through in 4 minutes and 30 seconds, i.e., 10 seconds over what is required. And a first lieutenant can also get hurt:

"Yes, I have gotten injured. I broke a leg because I took a wrong step after jumping down."

Over the course of the first seven months of the one-year military training, 10 soldiers from First Lieutenant L. Kunov's platoon have been rejected because they could not cope with the harsh military life.

And it is not only physiques there is something wrong with. A couple cracked up mentally.

"I am in the situation where every time I lose a man there is a vehicle without a driver. And the workload, which does not change with drop-outs, pressures the soldiers even more."

The Military Punishes

Some soldiers get such severe psychological problems that they desert. During basic training, which is the first three months of service, about 20 soldiers skipped off from the Company of Engineers. This information comes not from the officers but from the privates, who can tell about the many punishments deserters are subjected to when the military police finds them again:

"The mildest punishment is guard duty for two periods of three days' duration, and one of two days'. They get the sentence of a single day off in between the total of three periods of guard duty."

In addition, the armed forces punish with detention, fines or prison soldiers who are absent without leave.

Both Palle Egemar, Teddy Jensen and Soren Petersen are satisfied with the course of their service. But they do not look forward to trying the obstacle course, where the stopwatch is ticking.

"If we do not meet the requirement, there will be extra training after dismissal as the reward. Right until we come under the 4 minutes and 20," the three soldiers say.

But reality is a touch more gentle. "We are not sadists. A real examination takes place only in sergeants' and officers' schools," says L. Kunov.

By now the Second Armored Platoon's of Engineers lecture in physical development and training (FUT) is about to end for this day. Once again a team of draftees has made the acquaintance of the formidable Nutcracker.

And the exercises on the obstacle course have produced sweat on foreheads and in boots: The sour-smelling socks and sweaty T-shirts stink in the drying room at home in the barracks. But this is also part of the harsh soldier's life.

Big Demands

The armed forces place big physical demands on draftees. And some soldiers never complete military training because they break down physically or psychologically.

It is especially bad in the combat troops, where more than 20 percent of the men have to be sent home before their time. This is shown by a study the Armed Forces Command made based on 8000 new draftees in 1985.

A total of eight percent of this class was rejected because they could not cope with military life, or because they incurred back or leg injuries.

"Both the Armed Forces Command and the Conscription Service Administration are pressuring the Ministry of the Interior to bring in extra physicians and psychologists at draft boards so that the many injuries and psychological problems will be discovered before the soldiers are at individual places of service," says Lieutenant Colonel Jorgen Svaneberg, who is chief of the Armed Forces Command's conscription section.

Right to a Cooling-Off Period

On Wednesday the Folketing had its first discussion of a bill to the effect that soldiers are to have the "right to a cooling-off period." The SF [Socialist People's Party] and VS [Socialist Left Party] are backing the bill, which is to the effect that draftees are to get a chance to be sent home from the military temporarily, and to then complete the rest of their compulsory service as conscientious objectors. The bill was supported by both the Social Democratic Party and the Radical Liberal Party.

Each year 200 draftees break down psychologically. To begin with they are admitted to the Military Psychiatric Department at the National Hospital. Later they are sent home with a psychiatric diagnosis in their hands. And now a majority in the Folketing considers this an unacceptable use of psychiatry.

Group Pressure

Half of those sent home too early were not able to cope with the physical requirements.

The obstacle course especially gets the blame for cutting the draftees down. The soldiers have to struggle with 17 obstacles on a 500-meter-long course.

And, among other things, have to jump down from a height of four meters. The many back and leg injuries originate with this.

It is true that crawling down is permitted, but group pressure and the officers' coaxing result in the fact that only the fewest "sissies" choose the easy solution.

"It is of no use to be afraid in time of war. Therefore the 'sissies' have to learn to overcome their fear," says Jorgen Svaneberg.

8831

CSO: 3613/99

OFFICERS ASSOCIATION BOOK: FLEET BECOMING OBSOLETE

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 30 May 87 p 6

[Article by Nils Eric Boesgaard]

[Text] The Danish fleet is becoming seriously obsolete. A total of 30 percent of the ships are between 20 and 30 years old and at least two vessels are 50 years old.

The above statement was made by N.Chr. Borck, commander, to the Officers Association yesterday, where he presented the contribution of the Officers Association to the debate on the Danish defense. "The Future of the Fleet.. Where Are We Going."

"The fleet must become modernized to secure Danish maritime interests," he said.

The Officers Association is a 204-year-old naval, scientific society, the chairman of which, Lieutenant Commander N.U. Bagge, describes the activities of the organization as "serious, nonpolitical and nonpolemic." The purpose of the report is to provide information on the role of the Naval Defense in Denmark's security and defense.

In conjunction with the current debate, it has "emerged that there is a surprising lack of insight into and understanding of the maritime problems and their significance to the security of our country," Vice Admiral S.S. Thostrup, former head of the Naval Defense, states in his foreword to the book.

"The fact that Denmark is a maritime nation is often overlooked in the defense debate," Commander Borck said at the press meeting at Søkvæsthuset in Christianshavn. And he went on to say: "Without our noticing it in our daily lives, the sea plays a decisive role in the life of the country. What would happen to us if the ferry services were interrupted or if we had to abandon 80 percent of our import and 60 percent of our export that is transported via sea?

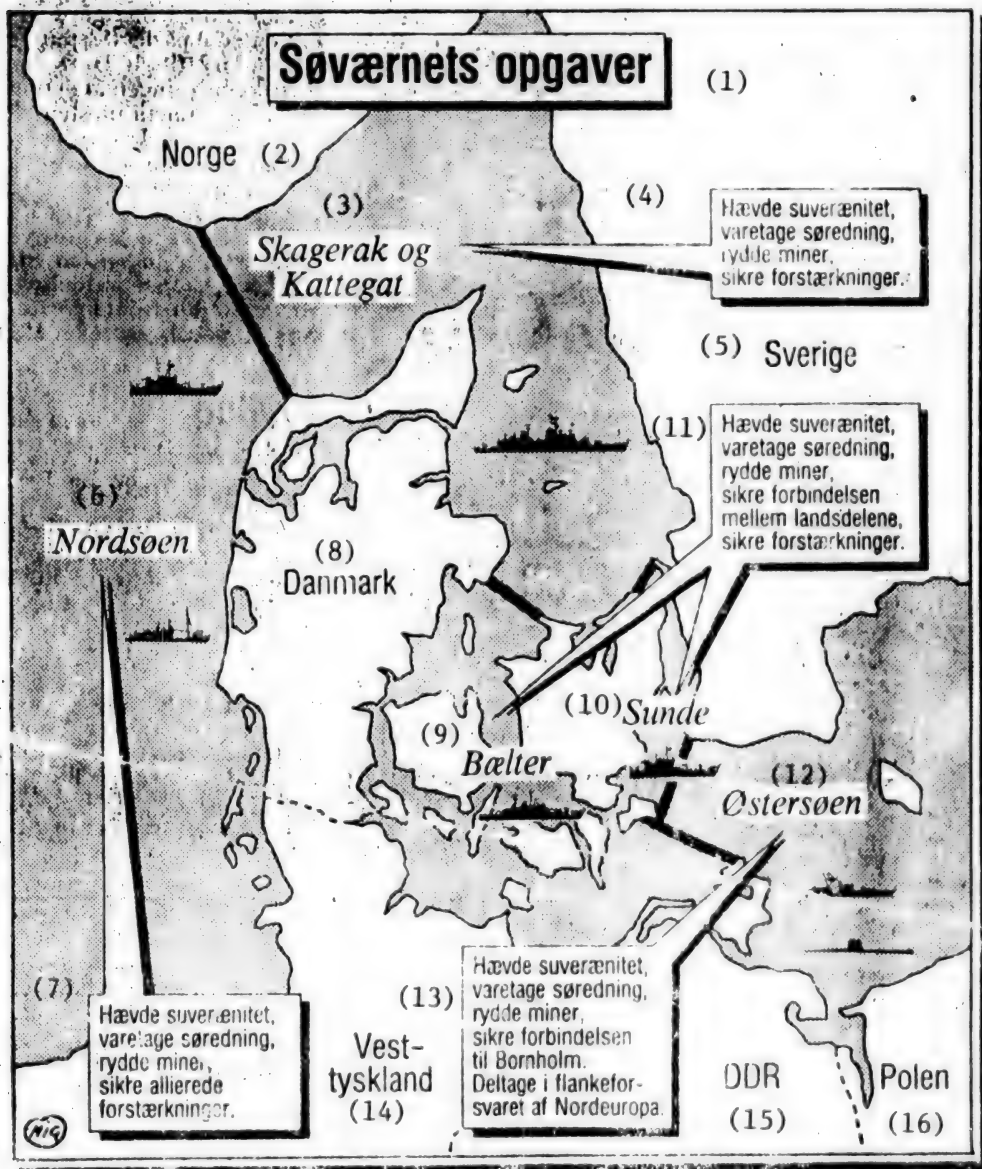
Can we accept the possibility that the connections between the various provinces be cut off in a war or emergency situation without securing their restoration?

Do we wish to wage a defense struggle in or from inhabited areas rather than taking up the struggle at sea?

Will we accept that our fleet does not have at its disposal ships that are capable of navigating the 60 days during the year when smaller units have to give up?

And, finally, is it responsible from the point of view of our security policy to reduce our capability of being present with national fleet units in the Baltic and the North Sea throughout the year?"

These are some of the issues raised by the naval officers in FLÅDENS FREMTID, and it is not often that they speak freely. Last time this happened was in 1932, when the politicians at Christiansborg made the defense arrangement which led directly to the German occupation on 9 April 1940.



The map shows the many tasks of the Naval Defense in the waters surrounding Denmark.

Key:

1. Tasks of Naval Defense
2. Norway
3. Skagerak and Kattegat
4. Maintain sovereignty, undertake rescues at sea, clear mines, secure reinforcements.
5. Sweden
6. North Sea
7. Maintain sovereignty, undertake rescues at sea, clear mines, secure Allied reinforcements.
8. Denmark
9. Belts (straits)
10. Sounds
11. Maintain sovereignty, undertake rescues at sea, clear mines, secure connections between provinces, secure reinforcements.
12. The Baltic
13. Maintain sovereignty, undertake rescues at sea, clear mines, secure connection to Bornholm. Participate in flank defense of Northern Europe.
14. West Germany
15. German Democratic Republic
16. Poland

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CSO: 3613/100

SOLDIERS, CIVIL DEFENSE PERSONNEL GETTING ABC WARFARE SUITS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 15 May 87 p 7

[Article by Nils Eric Boesgaard: "Nuclear Boiler Suits for Police and Armed Forces"]

[Text] Both soldiers, the Civil Defense and police are getting the new protective suits, which can protect against nuclear, bacteriological and chemical weapons. At the same time, both the armed forces and Civil Defense are getting detectors which can warn of gas.

The armed forces have begun to supply the new ABC materiel to their units. The equipment, which will cost 80 million kroner, consists in part of detection and warning materiel, and in part of an ABC suit with gloves and boots, which together with a gas mask is to protect an individual soldier from nuclear radiation and bacteriological and chemical weapons, reports the commander of the Armed Forces ABC School, Lieutenant Colonel B.E. Kuszcz of the Farum Barracks.

The suit is a component of a total defense system and is to be supplied to the Civil Defense and the police. It was developed here at home and has already aroused interest among our NATO partners. The system includes a tight-fitting out-in-a-jiffy boiler suit made of a completely new four-layered material which consists on the outside of cotton and synthetic material in the armed forces' new camouflage pattern. Then comes a layer of activated carbon and foamed plastic, and finally a layer of polyester, which makes it water- and oil-repellant as well as fire retarding. The ABC suit affords complete protection against chemical warfare substances and radioactive dust for six hours. In addition to the suit, each man will be outfitted with a week's supply of pills and three atropine syringes for protection against nerve gas.

The detection and warning equipment comprises a portable automatic detector which can detect the presence of chemical weapons, primarily nerve gas, and a public address system which in part can emit siren warning signals and in part issue instructions regarding the use of protective suits and the like. In addition, the Civil Defense is getting a considerable number of stationary and mobile detectors developed by Brul and Kjaer.

Most military and Civil Defense units are expected to be getting the new equipment before the end of 1987. But the Home Guard will get the equipment later.

DENMARK

MILITARY

ARMED FORCES COMMAND STUDYING REPLACEMENT OF CENTURION TANKS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 17 May 87 p 4

[Article by Neb: "Goodbye to the Centurion"]

[Text] The Armed Forces Command is at the moment studying the possibilities of buying a number of used Leopard tanks to replace the almost 40-year-old Centurion tanks, which mainly form part of the armored forces on Zealand. The Leopards are already being used by the armored troops in Jutland, and the purchase of 110 similar, but used, vehicles will result in better standardization. In this connection, it has been pointed out that the introduction of the new type T 80 tank in those of the Warsaw Pact's forces which threaten the United Command's territory will make it necessary for the Danish tanks to be outfitted with 120-mm guns in order to ensure sufficient penetrating power for them, the Armed Forces Command adds. At the moment these vehicles are outfitted with 105-mm guns. The Armed Forces Command reports that the purchase of used tanks is preferable. If this is not possible, it will be necessary to give the existing ones an extensive "face lifting." However, there is hardly much money to be saved, for modernization would be almost as expensive as the purchase of used Leopards with new, powerful guns.

8831

CSO: 3613/99

RHEINMETALL UNDER SUSPICION IN IRAN ARMS SALES

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 11 May 87 pp 141-2

[Unattributed article: "Making Sure--Duesseldorf's Rheinmetall Involved in Shady Weapons Deal Again"]

[Text] 40 members of Rheinmetall's top management staff received a two-page memorandum from their own board of directors.

The documents caused a good deal of concern inside the weapons company which had run into problems with illegal arms exports before. The subject heading "re: legality" gave a hint of the fact that something out of the ordinary was afoot.

The memo reminded all company employees that they were honor bound to observe "strict legality in all activities, operations and contractual agreements, etc." and went on to say that "we adhere to the principle of exclusive legality without regard to profits."

The recipients of the memorandum were all asked to affix their signature to a declaration stating that they would strictly obey the law--which apparently had not been the rule until that time.

Some of the addressees were so shocked that they first checked with a lawyer to determine what the consequences of their signing the declaration would be. After some delays and changes in wording, Rheinmetall CEO Hans Brauner got all the signatures he had asked for. It now appears that the skepticism concerning the memorandum was well founded. The Rheinmetall management is once again being suspected of having planned to go through with an illegal arms deal.

The state prosecutor's office believes that the Duesseldorf company was laying the groundwork for an illegal arms deal with Iran, a country presently at war, by running it along well-camouflaged routes through several NATO countries.

The deal was for 300 of Rheinmetall's 20mm cannon at a cost of some DM 100 million. The illegal deal is said to have been planned just a few months after circulation of Brauner's "conduct of operations" memorandum.

In a surprise action last Friday, about 50 officials, state prosecutors and members of the Federal Criminal Police Office conducted searches for incriminating evidence at Rheinmetall headquarters in Duesseldorf and in the residences of some arms dealers and members of the firm's management.

Arms shipments to Iran--a nation currently at war--would constitute a violation of the War Weapons Act which prohibits arms exports to areas of tension and war zones.

Rheinmetall became involved in this most recent deal through the actions of two intermediaries: Walter Demuth, a Swiss entrepreneur from Basel and Lothar Kleinschmidt, his German partner, from Hasslinghausen near Wuppertal.

In the fall of 1985, Kleinschmidt approached Rheinmetall and expressed interest in the cannons. Demuth later said that his clients had decided on the Rheinmetall guns after conducting tests with both the Rheinmetall products and those of Swiss weapons manufacturer, Oerlikon-Buehrle.

But Demuth was unwilling to say exactly who his clients were. As for the deal itself, he said, it involved no risks for the German firm. He said he had talked to officials at the Turkish Embassy in Vienna who assured him that Turkey, a NATO member, would issue the necessary end-user certifications which would provide Rheinmetall with proof of the fact that this was a legal transaction.

Determined to find out more about the particulars, Josef Hornfeck, the head of Rheinmetall's export department, asked the firm's Ankara office to check into the matter. The firm's representatives reported back that neither the Turkish government, nor the Turkish military was aware of any such transaction. Soon enough, it became clear to Rheinmetall that Iran was behind the deal.

The question the company faced was whether it should get involved in such a deal. After all, it had gotten burned on similar transactions in the past.

In mid-May 1986, the Duesseldorf district court sentenced three of the firm's executives and a former business manager to prison terms ranging from 15 months to 2 years for having taken part in illegal arms deals.

With the help of fraudulent end-user certifications, the firm obtained approval for the export of machine guns, cannons and an ammunition filling plant.

The arms were shipped to Saudi Arabia, Argentina and South Africa in the absence of valid export authorizations. At the trial, the state prosecutors were able to prove that Rheinmetall's executives were aware of ultimate destination of the shipments.

This time, they really wanted to make sure. For this reason, Ernst-Otto Kraemer, one the top executives, checked back with the Bonn defense ministry.

Hornfeck, the head of the export division, reported on Kraemer's trip at the weekly Monday meeting of department heads. The Bonn ministry official, he said, had no qualms about Rheinmetall's going through with the deal but did advise the firm not to use Demuth as a go-between in this delicate matter.

Acting on this advice, Rheinmetall got in touch with an old business partner, i.e. the Norwegian arms manufacturer Kongsberg near Oslo. Expressing interest in the deal, the Norwegian firm made arrangements to find someone who would handle the shipment.

In the middle of 1986, Rheinmetall first began negotiating with the Norwegian firm. Jens Charles Width, the Kongsberg CEO, now admits that the Norwegian company intended to participate in the deal by supplying the undercarriages for the 300 cannons. Kongsberg also intended to act as general contractor.

The extent of the joint venture becomes apparent from a preliminary inquiry by Rheinmetall addressed to the West German and Norwegian customs services, informing them several weeks ahead of time of plans for shipping the cannons from Duesseeldorf to Drammen, Norway, the Kongsberg company's home port.

Shortly after delivery of the cannons, the plan was to have NWM, Rheinmetall's Netherlands subsidiary, supply the necessary ammunition--in an equally roundabout fashion, of course.

During their search last Friday, the investigators hoped to unearth of the details of the arms deal. Even though Rheinmetall has not yet made delivery of the cannons, the firm may nevertheless have broken the law. Even a preliminary agreement on an unauthorized arms export deal would be in violation of the War Weapons Act.

The investigators will now be looking into the role, if any, played by the Rheinmetall executives who were given suspended sentences at last year's trial.

The fact that Rheinmetall was once again on the point of breaking the law is probably due to the pressure to succeed to which the top management is subject. Since the mid-eighties, Rheinmetall's arms division has been operating at a loss. In 1986, sales by the equipment division alone declined 50 percent to some DM 200 million.

For another thing, Rheinmetall has run into a number of problems. During a test in which so-called kinetic ammunition was used, i.e. an arrow-like, high-velocity antitank shell, one of the shells disintegrated shortly after firing. Rheinmetall technical experts unsuccessfully tried to determine the reason for the failure for months.

The Agency for Arms Technology and Procurement (BWB), which plays a major role in arms procurement, thereupon imposed a ban on further production. The loss in sales was figured by Rheinmetall to be in the hundreds of millions.

Rheinmetall has also had problems with a new type of artillery shell which fires 63 bomblets per round which then descend on enemy positions by parachute and explode upon impact. A test firing conducted in Norway in the fall of 1986 turned into fiasco. BWB officials will accept a two-percent margin of error. But two of the shells contained 21 duds--which made for an overall error margin of 17 percent.

The Norwegian, Danish, Swedish and Indian armed forces had already expressed interest in purchasing just under 100,000 of the bomblet shells. Rheinmetall now fears that these customers will look to another supplier.

It is hard to imagine that CEO Brauner thought his present job would be as difficult as it is when he switched to Rheinmetall from the Jagenberg mechanical engineering company 2 years ago. Brauner now not only has to account for the company's losses but also for the visit by criminal investigators to the Roechling family which owns more than 50 percent of Rheinmetall.

This is extremely unpleasant. In the aftermath of the previous affair, the Roechlings had instructed their CEO to forbid any and all illegal deals. Quite obviously, this cannot simply be done by putting out a circular marked "re: legality."

9478

CSO: 3620/216

ARMY COMMANDER URGES SHORTER CONSCRIPT TRAINING

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 15 May 87 p 6

[Article by Anders Ohman]

[Text] Uppsala--Basic training for conscripts in some Army units will be cut from 7.5 to 5.5 months--but at the same time it will be extended for more highly-trained units. Refresher training will be shorter and more efficient, with a leave system that is better adapted to the needs of the soldiers taking part in the refresher exercises.

These are some of the proposed changes in the training and military organization of the Army that its leader, Lieutenant General Erik G. Bengtsson, is submitting to Commander in Chief Bengt Gustafsson today, Friday.

Further proposals for changes in the Army will be submitted in the next few months.

Big changes are predicted in the military organization up to the year 2000. In the current tight economic situation the Army chief wants to increase the number of mechanized brigades at the expense of older infantry brigades. Eight "1966 model" brigades are expected to disappear altogether. There will be a differentiation of territorial defense units. Some will have a high preparedness level, others a low one.

The Commander in Chief [OB] warned earlier that the number of older infantry brigades would be cut from eight to six, but according to the Army chief they will probably be eliminated entirely.

"In the current economic situation we must also consider whether we can afford to retain 20 brigades on the mainland. Perhaps the number can be cut," said Erik G. Bengtsson.

Out on Maneuvers

DAGENS NYHETER met him during a command exercise with tank and signal units in the Uppsala district.

Army training currently ranges from 7.5 to 15 months in length. Combat soldiers, who make up the majority, have 7.5 months of basic training. Group command conscripts, who may be in charge of complicated equipment, have 10 months, conscript platoon officers 12 months and conscript company officers 15 months.

The Army's big question is how to set up the training organization that supplies the military organization with soldiers. The basis is universal military service. But big changes are expected in the refresher training system.

Shorter Period

"The conscripts want refresher training to be shorter. We have to consider this for other reasons," said the head of the Army.

The goal is to provide basic training for units that can be transferred directly to the military organization. A platoon should become a closely-knit group in the first refresher exercise, for example. If 25 percent of the officers are on leave, new soldiers who are not familiar with each other take part in the exercise.

The Army chief's solution is to move up the date of the first refresher exercise and place the second one considerably later than 4 years after basic training is completed, which is when it can occur now. Leave is most commonly granted because of studies. In the new model the second refresher exercise would not fall within a soldier's student period.

More Often for Some

"But some officers and specialists will have to be brought in more often," said Erik G. Bengtsson. He gave as an example missile units whose members must be trained to the point where in a war they can hit an enemy target, an airplane or a tank, with the first shot.

In its first report the Defense Committee made it very clear that such soldiers must be ready for combat immediately after a mobilization is announced.

Preparedness

Refresher training will become shorter. It is hard today for a conscript officer to be called in for 5 weeks of refresher training.

The Army's commander wants to replace the word "preparedness" in a changed future peacetime organization of the Army with the word "preparation."

"We must create an organization of preparation that can grow into a combat organization. This requires a certain level of preparation. Some forces will be kept ready for use in case of incidents and more serious matters. Units will be trained in this organization. The concept of a peacetime organization gives a totally wrong impression of what is involved," Bengtsson said.

The Army's task in peacetime is to maintain preparedness in all possible areas.

Exposed Role

"Of course we must consider the heritage of regiments, schools, etc. when we build up this preparedness organization," Erik G. Bengtsson said. "It is too early to say anything about whether any regiments will have to be disbanded."

The commander of the Army has an exposed role with regard to the new defense resolution. A shortage of around 600 million kronor last year forced him to make drastic cuts.

OB Bengt Gustafsson has been asked to make a quick review of how the defense system can be changed. Lt Gen Ake Sagren was assigned to study conscript training, among other things. Voices have been heard in some quarters to the effect that the head of the Army has been overrun by the government and OB.

"That is wrong. I do not feel overrun in any way. The directive clearly states that OB has asked me to provide the background material and submit proposals. My responsibility as chief of the Army is not in question on any point," Erik G. Bengtsson said sharply.

DAGENS NYHETER asked if he had fought hard enough and stood his ground with respect to OB and the politicians prior to the defense resolution. It is possible that the general's subdued emphasis contributed to the fact that the Army has been somewhat neglected in the 1987 defense resolution? Shouldn't a general be tough?

"I am not the kind of person who runs around and talks to everybody. I follow a straight line forward. I have presented the Army's requirements to OB that way and that is how I intend to go on doing it," said Erik G. Bengtsson who said with a small laugh: "We will keep on going even if the wind is against us."

Units Praised

He praised the "drive" of some 50 units he visited to explain the dismal economic situation. Of the 700 million kronor the new defense resolution provides the Army for training purposes, 500 million are already earmarked for various price increases. The remaining 200 million provides 40 million kronor a year up to 1992. It will be the Army's turn in the next defense resolution, the politicians have promised.

The Army chief is glad about one thing--the early departures from the Army seem to have ended. New recruitment has gone well. Some 40 officers who had left have returned. Academic training of around 630 officer candidates will begin in the fall. The Army needs 550. The general feels that improved wage conditions in the latest contracts are one reason for this.

Displeased With 19 Majors

The chief of the Army is displeased with the 19 majors who are threatening to find civilian jobs now that they have completed their training as quartermasters.

"They are showing disloyalty to the service. They have been getting full pay and a maintenance allowance for 2 years. Their case is being reviewed and I think they can expect some action to be taken. This group is not being treated unfairly," Lt Gen Erik G. Bengtsson told DAGENS NYHETER.

6578

CSO: 3650/145

OFFICERS' EARLY DEPARTURE FROM ARMED FORCES REMAINS PROBLEM

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 15 May 87 p 6

[Article by Micke Jaresand: "Majors Seek New Jobs"]

[Text] Departures from the military continue. In a newspaper advertisement 19 majors are offering their services to the private business sector. The reason is dissatisfaction with wage developments in the Armed Forces.

For a year and a half the 19 officers were trained for the Quartermasters Service at the Defense Administration School in Ostersund. All have spent several years in the military and have served as company commanders, among other things.

"We are not negative about the Armed Forces as such," said Ake Torringar, the group's spokesman. "But we are dissatisfied with the wage policy and we do not think we are paid enough in view of our training, responsibilities and proficiency."

No one has resigned from the service yet, the group is waiting to see what the response of the private sector will be. They would also consider staying in the Army if the wage picture changes.

Vacancies

The quartermaster training program in Ostersund is planned so that all the participants can start working for the Quartermasters Service after they complete the training course. If the defections become a reality, there will be many vacancies.

"It would be very unfortunate if these officers really resign," said Gerhard Liljestjarna of the Army Staff.

The training program for quartermasters is part of the Army's effort to make its administration more efficient and create better planning. The need for this became apparent when a study was made of the Army's economic crisis. Therefore the leadership feels it would be especially unfortunate if these particular people leave.

Little Room

However there is very little room for meeting the officers' wage demands, as the Army Staff conceded. But according to Gerhard Liljestjarna talks will be initiated between the highest leader of the Quartermasters Service and the 19 majors as soon as possible.

OFFICERS ASSOCIATION CITES REASONS FOR EARLY DEPARTURES

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 May 87 p 6

[Article by Anders Ohman: "Defections Continue"]

[Text] The Swedish Association of Army, Navy and Air Force Officers (SOF), which comes under the Swedish Confederation of Professional Employees/National and Local Civil Servants Union [SACO/SR], does not share the view of the chief of the Army, Lieutenant General Erik G. Bengtsson, that Army officers have stopped leaving the service prematurely.

The Army commander said in a DAGENS NYHETER interview on Friday that some 40 Army officers who had defected have now returned and that the recruiting effort for the fall class at the military college is going well, with more applicants than are needed.

"I can understand that the Army chief wants to create a better psychological climate within the organization, but unfortunately he is a little too optimistic. Our assessment is that early departures have not stopped," said Jan Lord, first secretary of the Officers Association.

So far this year 64 members have asked to leave SOF, which represents over 8,000 Armed Forces officers, because they had decided to go into civilian employment. In 1986 128 officers left the union for the same reason and the year before that the figure was 138.

The figures include all three branches of the Armed Forces. They are not broken down by branch.

It is part of the picture that the Army was the first to reach an agreement on the special funds that went to the Armed Forces in the last wage settlement. The wage funds were concentrated on younger officers in troops with special troop increments and officers in skilled positions, among others.

Cry for Help

In Friday's DAGENS NYHETER interview the Army chief said that the 19 majors at the Defense Administration School who threatened to leave for civilian jobs were being "disloyal to the service."

"I can understand that the Army chief reacts that way when they have gone through such an advanced training program. But this can also be seen as a cry for help. The last wage negotiations did not give some groups the money they expected," said union secretary Jan Lord.

SOF is concerned about the Army leader's plans to shorten conscript training.

A shorter training period could have the effect that a unit trains two groups instead of one in the same period, meaning that the officers would have to work harder. Instead SOF wants to reduce the number of conscripts inducted in the next few years by around 6,000 men in order to ease the pressure on the officers. The Officers Association had some favorable response to this demand in the government's defense bill.

6578

CSO: 3650/145

CAD-CAM COMPANY SEEKS PART OF MCDONNELL DOUGLAS CONTRACT

Madrid MERCADO in Spanish 8 May 87 p 49

[Text] Maquinizaciones Aeronauticas S.A. [MASA] was created in 1984 with a majority participation by the Dunaiturria and Estancona goods and equipment company and several private stockholders, among them Enrique de Guzman, who in the past was president of Renfe, Iberia and CASA.

Nearly 2 billion pesetas in investments (up to this time in 1987) have put into operation one of the companies with leading edge technology in the manufacture of large, high-precision parts, and particularly for taking in all that work that Aeronautics Construction, CASA, was giving up because of its industrial size.

Now, the factory that it has in the industrial complex of Sequero in Logrono is having an effect on its neighboring companies. The CAD-CAM (computer aided design) services of MASA are seeking new sectors of application. The aeronautics industry has become small for the digital control machinery the company has, and General Motors, Tabacalera or Envases Carnaud (some of the residents of the industrial complex), may soon become customers.

While these new markets open in the north, MASA already has a new company registered in Seville: Tecnica Aerospacial wants to take part of the contract CASA has with McDonnell Douglas for the construction of the stabilizer for its MD-11 aircraft.

Attack on Two Fronts

Nearly 3 billion pesetas, distributed over 4 years are waiting to be invested in Seville so that MASA can duplicate its digital control center: "More companies are invited to compete for the project, but MASA because of its experience and technical means has a 75 percent certainty of obtaining it." Jose Olarte Yanguela, director-manager of MASA in Logrono, wants to open markets in the south. The construction of parts for the MD-11 is the first step.

The degree of confidentiality to which the company is subjected because of the construction of parts for military aviation, is extended by its management to sales and profits figures. They have only agreed to confirm that the project of the new factory in Seville (for manufacturing the MD-11

stabilizer) will mean 25 percent of the volume of business the Logrono company now does. However, the objective in the medium and long term is the use of this contract as a launching platform in southern Spain and the selling of its computer design services to the companies of the zone.

This CAD-CAM activity is already in operation in its installation in the north. The textile, footwear or automotive sectors, particularly the latter, are future candidates for becoming clients of the MASA programmers, according to Jose Olarte: "We are the only ones in the country manufacturing large size precision parts. We began by making elementary parts until we reached higher degrees of complexity. Now we already make the designs ourselves and we even manufacture the parts." A shift of specialists keeps the CAD-CAM screens busy for 4 hours.

However, in order to make the 200 million pesetas invested in computer design equipment profitable, it is necessary to train more teams of technicians and obtain more business. Five more shifts are being trained so as to maintain its CAD-CAM service in operation 24 hours a day. The automotive sector has been its new conquest on the market. They could not restrict their industrial support to the aeronautics industry.

One of the Secrets

The industrial progress of this company conceived in 1984, with its manufacturing process initiated in 1985 and a plan for a new factory in 1987, is unstoppable. The 35,000 square meters it has in Logrono include 7,000 dedicated to the factory and 1,200 to offices. Its stockholders capital is 450 million pesetas, plus 250 million pesetas in own resources.

The investing effort to provide itself with high precision machinery and the necessary teams of technicians, has already been accomplished. Production by the in-bond system is its secret. Shapeless pieces of aluminum and titanium are designed pursuant to requested specification. The parts are also manufactured. The high costs of raw materials are borne by the customers. They only produce value added.

In less than 15 days MASA will have a reply from McDonnell Douglas and from the Andalucia Board so that it may establish itself in Seville. A total of 150 highly skilled professional jobs may be created; the factories that CASA has in Tablada and San Pablo want to provide more services to the region. MASA also needs more running room. Its present installations in Logrono are underutilized and the aeronautics sector has been only the starting point for its technological development. That is what they want.

8908

CSO: 3548/80

PAPER VIEWS PROBLEMS NEEDING DECISION BY NEW GOVERNMENT

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 13 Apr 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Favorable Prospects--But Also Problems"]

[Text] When we can shift from political power plays to political content, the premises offer us new forecasts of the economic situation. The prospects for this year are favorable, but they are probably even now weaker for next year. There are problems in the balance of payments, in the relationship between our monetary and finance policies and, above all, in the maintenance of our ability to compete.

The election campaign and particularly the postelection maneuvering of the government have drawn public attention away from the exercise of our economic policy. Problems requiring solutions have not, however, disappeared. They must be recognized now, when they are beginning to decide on the next government's platform and in part on the basis for it too.

We should above all now look at long-term issues--the change in structure that has now become a cliché and the factors that have contributed to it, especially tax reform. However, problems involving the economic situation cannot be ignored. In connection with this the Workers Economic Research Institute (TTT), Economic Research Institute (ETLA) and the KOP [National Bank] and SYP [Finnish Union Bank] economic surveys that have appeared these past few weeks provide us with a good foundation.

With the shift in the evolution of the economy to a period of lower, but fairly stable figures, the differences among the various forecasts are slight. Most often it is more a question of the method used for calculating them--the maintenance balance must move evenly--than of any real differences in estimates.

According to the forecasts, it appears that things will continue at the same level this year, at a growth rate of about 3 percent, which we have had throughout the 1980's. Exports to the West, investments and--very vigorously--domestic consumption will lead the economy this year. The reduction in exports to the East may be less than feared--provided the agreed-on reexporting of oil is effected.

The forecasters are, however, solidly unanimous in their opinion that the drop in the price of oil has not launched the Western economy into quite as big an upswing as the most hopeful of them had supposed it would. The prospects for next year are now even gloomier.

In spite of their different backgrounds, the institutes are quite unanimous on the problem areas. This parallelism will hopefully make it easier to set policy--even regardless of who is ultimately in the government and who is in the opposition.

After a favorable period of 10 years, the external balance of the economy is getting to be a bit problematic. One contributing factor, among others, is the greatly weakened tourist balance. The foreign currency reserve has, to be sure, been strengthened, people have confidence in the markka and the typical figures are tolerable in comparison with those of past years. The timeliness of this problem too must, however, be recognized.

The TTT, which is close to the trade union movement, does not directly discuss our ability to compete, but indirectly it even admits that it is slowly crumbling. This is not simply a question of an overly lax wage policy. Wage expenditures have risen especially in the closed sectors, whereas those sectors engaged in international competition have kept the situation under control better. This too emphasizes the importance of a policy of active competition.

As the ETLA especially emphasizes, the round of wage settlements next winter nevertheless occupies the key position. Wage-earners purchasing power has increased and is still increasing at a record rate. Therefore, we might think that the conditions exist for strengthening the requirements for economic growth through moderation.

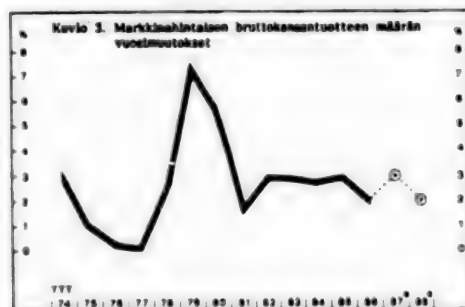
From one end to the other (of the political spectrum), the institutes state that our financial policy is too loose and our monetary policy too tight. In short, public expenditures have increased and taxes have been reduced while interest rates have remained unreasonably high.

The conclusion is that our financial policy should be tightened and interest rates lowered. Fiscal reasons are already providing the impetus for this; the pressures on the national budget are great. To control the situation, a strong--preferably also, of course, measured in terms of seats in Parliament--purposeful government would be required.

The unemployment situation continues to be unsatisfactory, despite the fact that statistics-based arguments have been renewed. Not even the TTT offers us and tricky manipulations, although it does come up with some independent initiatives worth in part considering. However, the TTT also lays emphasis on the "basic interdependence" between an increase in production and employment.

This leads us to the ability to compete, no matter how fed up we are with the idea. This should be substantially taken into account in the political decisions to be made during the coming weeks.

Chart 3. Annual changes in the size of the market price GNP.



11,466

CSO: 3617/88

PAPER COMMENTS ON IMPROVING UNEMPLOYMENT PICTURE

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 21 Apr 87 p 2

[Editorial: "Unemployment Situation Improving"]

[Text] Starting with last fall, Finland's economy has clearly been reviving, which has also lowered the number of unemployed. This decline is expected to continue since, thanks to the evolution of the economy, new job opportunities are being generated and the growth of the labor supply has slowed down. Long-term unemployment is, however, still increasing, even though they have been energetically trying to sweep it under the carpet by means of pension arrangements, among other measures.

The employment law that is to go into effect at the start of next year is a new attempt to improve the long-term unemployment picture. Its effects risk being ostensible or completely negative if forced employment swallows up jobs somewhere else. Urpo Leppanen, the labor minister of the government in power during the last election term, nevertheless feels that the development is a positive one and worthwhile in itself. In his opinion, it will be the fault of the new government if it meets with a negative response.

Improvement of the employment situation, however, now depends on and will later mostly depend on how successful industry and other business activities are. According to a new Industrial Confederation economic survey, business leaders expect the situation to continue to improve. Production is steadily increasing this spring in all business sectors despite the fact that international economic prospects are dim. The volume of orders and exports are also expected to increase this year compared with what they were before and production investment activities will probably be more numerous in a year's time than they are now.

Businesses that during the past few years considerably reduced their labor force are no longer on the average doing so. Production plants in some sectors are also even planning to increase their numbers of workers this year. The increase could be a bigger one if the shortage of skilled labor were not an obstacle. About half of our business leaders lament the fact, but only less than a tenth of them complain that they have financial problems, for example. The shortage of skilled labor is the worst obstacle to the growth of production for many businesses.

The job and applicants for the job's poor ability to adapt to one another stems above all from mistakes in labor policy and negligence. Their key task is to see to it as effectively and quickly as possible that the shortage of skilled labor at least does not increase in comparison with what it has been up to now. Since most companies have an unused production capacity, they can meet the growing demand if only their ability to compete is adequate and no other obstacles to production growth crop up. Inadequacy of the ability to compete is a problem for very few of them. With an improving economic situation, this is an advantage that they should be capable of exploiting.

The more industry succeeds and is capable of increasing its production, the better the chances are too that it will provide new job opportunities in the service occupations. Costs that are rising faster than in competing countries are a problem that must imperatively also be raised when the next government charts its economic policy. Industry should not, however, blame only our economic and wage policies or the high interest rates that have recently lowered the remunerativeness of small and medium-sized industries in particular. Businesses must also above all themselves make an effort to maintain and improve their ability to compete.

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CSO: 3617/33

EXPORTS EXPECTED TO DECLINE IN 1987

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 25 Apr 87 p 35

[Text] The Pellervo Economic Research Institute (PTI) estimates that this year's export volume will drop by about 1 percent. The PTI is more pessimistic in this respect than any other economic research institute. The PTI predicts that export volume will drop by 1 percent this year, although our exports to the West will increase.

The PTI estimates that our exports to the East will drop by a fifth this year and an additional 5 percent next year.

In the PTI's opinion, the chief problem with Finland's economic policy is the rise in cost levels. Costs are rising faster than in competing countries. This is why the trade balance deficit will be growing this year and next year. The PTI predicts that the trade balance deficit will be 8 billion markkas in 1987 and 10 billion next year.

The worst problem with respect to economic growth is not that it is slow, but that it is not balanced. The institute warns against an unsound economic policy: The growth of overall production should no longer be based almost entirely on increases in consumer and government expenditures.

The figures in the economic forecast published by the PTI on Friday are in their general outlines similar to the views of the other economic research institutes on the evolution of the economy in the near future.

The PTI predicts that the economy will grow 2 percent this year and also the same figure next year.

The PTI attaches importance to the fact that Finland's cost levels are constantly rising faster than its competitors'. The institute is also concerned over the fact that real interest, which is locked in at such high rates, is reducing investments to too low a level from the standpoint of growth potential and the handling of employment during the coming years.

In Pellervo's opinion, strict wage agreements, in addition to a change of course for our financial policy, are a prerequisite for a drop in interest rates. On the basis of the wage hikes we know about right now, next year's labor costs will rise by from 2.5 to 3 percent without any new contract raises

and sliding scale adjustments. The institute would like to see a "policy of the stabilizing kind pursued."

According to the institute, progress in the field of investments is slackening because of a modest development of demand and high real interest rates. The PTT predicts an investment volume growth rate of 2 percent this year and 1.5 percent next year.

The PTT demands that jobs be created quickly for the rural sector. Rural sector employment cannot be guaranteed by relying solely on agriculture.

The PTT emphasizes that the forest economy is important to the generation of farm income. Between 1970 and 1985, however, surpluses of about 140 million cubic meters of timber were produced. To utilize them, large reinvestments in the forest industry would be required. With regard to this, the PTT concurs with MTK [Forest Industry Association] chairman Heikki Haavisto's recently presented estimate.

The PTT points out that limiting farm production according to given objectives has proven to be hard to do. Farm production increased last year by less than 1 percent. Milk production figures remained the same as in the previous year; in the 2 years prior to that they had clearly declined.

Egg production dropped and export needs declined to the same extent.

The grain harvest was smaller than it was in the previous year.

Economic Forecasts for 1987
(percentages)

Research Institute	GNP Growth	Inflation	Unemployment	Export Growth	Import Growth
VM	3	3.25	5.4	2.5	3
ETLA	3	3.5	5.5	2	3.5
TTT	2.75	4	5.4	2	3.5
PTT	2	3.6	5.5	-1	3
KOP	3	3.6	5.5	2	3
UNITAS	3	3.5	5.5	2	3

VM=Finance Ministry National Economy Department, ETLA=Economic Research Institute, TTT=Workers Economic Research Institute, PTT=Pellervo Economic Research Institute, KOP=National Bank Economic Research Department, UNITAS=SYP Economic Secretariat.

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CSO: 3617/88

NESTE CHIEF CONCERNED USSR TRADE BASED TOO HEAVILY ON CRUDE OIL

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 25 Apr 87 p 37

[Text] Neste [state oil company] general manager Jaakko Ihmuotila warns against basing Finnish-Soviet bilateral trade too strongly on the reexporting of crude oil, or trading sales. An example of this overdependence is the current year, in which it has been estimated that 20 percent of our Soviet trade imports will be generated by crude oil trading sales, and for the first time too this has been entered into the trade protocol as such.

According to Ihmuotila, risks that are not in keeping with the nature of bilateral trade are connected with commission sales. He also proposed that the import sector of the Soviet trade be increased through true imports instead of oil for reexport.

Ihmuotila, who presented his company's profit statement for last year in Espoo on Friday, believes that the declining value of the dollar will provide an opportunity for consumer prices of oil products to drop even before this summer. Current consumer prices are based on a dollar exchange rate of 4.74 markkas. The rate quoted by the Bank of Finland for the dollar on Friday was no more than 4.386 markkas.

The very gradual rise in the price of crude oil is, however, keeping any drops in price small. Ihmuotila estimates that the average drop will be about 3 pennies a liter.

Neste will be negotiating trading sales, which have proven to be burdensome this year, with the Soviets as early as this weekend.

Last year commission sales of crude oil were one of Neste's most profitable fields of operation. Ihmuotila does not, however, fear that the fact that they made money on it last year will create any more difficulties than before in the price negotiations.

Neste would willingly offer more natural gas instead of reexporting crude oil. A new offer, more favorable than the previous ones, has been made to Helsinki; the company's board of directors has decided to build a gas pipeline from the refinery in Porvoo and decisions on the so-called Western gas pipeline too Sweden are expected in the fall.

According to Ihamuotila, at Neste they are right now estimating investment costs for two alternative routes for the Western pipeline. One alternative is Riihimäki-Uusikaupunki-Gävle and the other Hyvinkää-Hanko-Kapellskar.

The bottom line is, however, how profitable it will be, and that will be settled primarily by the Swedish demand.

Not even great demand for gas in Sweden will, however, be enough to warrant building the Western pipeline. According to Ihamuotila, Neste's two-thirds basis still holds good; that is, the Western pipeline will be built only if two-thirds of the conditions are met. The conditions are: sufficient demand in Sweden, a Kemira ammonia plant in Uusikaupunki and the use of natural gas as a source of energy for Turku.

The ammonia plant is purely utopian and Turku will not need natural gas before its present remote heating contract with the Imatra Power Company expires after halfway through the next decade.

At the Neste company meeting on Friday they decided to increase the company's capital stock from 509 million to 662.5 million markkas. The increase is part of an earlier agreed-on program within the context of which they will effect another increase in a year's time. That will bring Finland's biggest company's capital stock to 800 million markkas.

The owner, the state, is not, however, increasing Neste's capital stock out of any spirit of charity. According to Ihamuotila, a free issue is attached to the increase whereby Neste will issue one share for which there is a charge for every two free shares it issues. Including an 11-percent dividend, the owner will be squeezing a yield of over 30 percent out of Neste shareholders, according to Ihamuotila.

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CSO: 3617/88

BRIEFS

STRIKES' ECONOMIC COSTS--According to unofficial data from the Ministry of Labor, which--they told us--will probably not be made public, 1986 was a spectacular year from the standpoint of strikes. Specifically, there were in Greece some 262 strikes which resulted in the loss of 9 million work hours, valued at approximately 12 billion drachmas. It should also be pointed out that work suspensions are not included in the above qualitative data, which concern the private sector of the economy only. If the corresponding numbers for the public sector are added to those for the private given above, then the number of strikes is close to 350 and the lost work hours rise to approximately 15 million. Totally, in other words, last year's social agitation was at exceptionally high levels and thus destroys the mythology that the present government ensures "social peace." This argument, as we learned, is used to satiety by the friends of the ministers of labor and national economy, K. Papanagiotou and K. Simitis, to support the cultivated opinion that a conservative government would cause a reversal of the calm social climate. Finally, according to our exclusive information from the Ministry of Labor, this year's levels of strikes, for the first quarter of 1987, do not differ much from last year's corresponding levels. There is expected to be an elevation in the social discontent beginning next September and afterwards, when the effects of the negative government income policy will become much more perceptible.

[Text] [Athens EMBISTEVTIKO GRAMMA in Greek 29 Apr 87 p 7] 9247

CSO: 3521/129

GASUNIE SEES FURTHER DROP IN NATURAL GAS REVENUES

The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 11 May 87 p 1

[Text] Groningen, 11 May--The Dutch gas supply company Nederlandse Gasunie reported on Monday a 10-billion-guilder revenue fall for 1986 and predicted a further major fall in 1987.

In its 1986 annual report Gasunie said revenue fell to 23.5 billion guilders from a record 34.3 billion guilders in 1985.

It said the fall resulted from an eight percent reduction in the volume of gas sold and a 25 percent average price fall in the wake of lower oil prices and the weak U.S. dollar.

The same factors were likely to cut revenue to about 14 billion guilders in 1987, it said.

Gasunie sold 72.9 billion cubic metres of natural gas in 1986, down from 79.6 billion in 1985. This was mainly due to a decline in exports, in line with expectations, it said.

Gasunie delivered 30.2 billion cubic metres of gas to its export customers in Belgium, France, Italy, Switzerland and West Germany last year, down from 36.7 billion in 1985.

Export contracts to supply these customers expire around 2010. Gasunie said it expected exports to fall again this year and then remain more or less stable for the next 20 years.

Reserves

In its 1987 gas marketing plan, also published on Monday, Gasunie said Dutch natural gas reserves stood at 2,145 billion cubic metres at the beginning of this year.

It said that for the next 25 years domestic gas sales would run at about 40 billion cubic metres a year, making a cumulative total of 1,000 cubic metres.

Over the same period cumulative exports were estimated at about 559 billion cubic metres, it said.

This would leave reserves of some 586 billion cubic metres at the end of the 25-year planning period, enough to meet domestic gas demand for many more years, Gasunie said.

The Netherlands' gas reserves are the second largest in Western Europe, after Norway, and tenth largest in the world.

Nederlandse Gasunie is owned by the Dutch state-owned chemicals group DSM (40%), Shell Nederland (25%), Esso Holding Company Holland (25%) and the Dutch state (10%),

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CSO: 3600/7

TURKISH BECOMES COMPULSORY LANGUAGE IN FRG SCHOOLS

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 25 Mar 87 p 3

[Text] Dusseldorf/Frankfurt (ANATOLIA AGENCY) - The state of North Rhine-Westphalia has agreed that Turkish should be taught as a compulsory second foreign language in its intermediate schools.

A protocol signed by National Education, Youth and Sports Minister Metin Emiroglu and North Rhine-Westphalia Culture Minister Hans Schwier provided a solution to the major educational problems of Turkish children.

According to the agreement reached between the two ministries, Turkish, which is now an elective, will become a second compulsory foreign language after English and the grade a student gets in Turkish will count towards his grade average for promotion.

German Teachers

Emiroglu announced that agreement had been reached on having North Rhine-Westphalia send 80 German teachers to Turkey to teach in Turkish high schools in Anatolia, thus helping fill the teacher shortage in Anatolian schools.

Emiroglu said that the shortage of Turkish teachers in North Rhine-Westphalia would be made up by appointing teachers from Turkey and that the salaries of teachers sent to this state would be paid by the German government.

Reporting on his contacts in Berlin, Metin Emiroglu said that a sports high school is to be built under the terms of a sports cooperation agreement reached with the state of Berlin and will be open for instruction in the 1988-1989 academic year.

The minister also announced that financing of the "sports high school" to be built under the auspices of Marmara University will be met by Berlin State and said that cooperation in sports would be advanced in various ways.

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CSO: 3554/250

MEASURES TAKEN TO CURB ILLEGAL EMPLOYMENT

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 28 Apr 87 p 6

[AP Article: "The State Loses Billions Through Illegal Employment"]

[Text] According to estimates by Small Business Chambers, construction associations and other groups, between 100,000 and half a million people work here without official permits. Heinrich Franke, president of the Federal Labor Office, assesses the economic damage due to illegal employment and moonlighting at 5 to 10 percent of GNP--that is, between DM100 billion and DM200 billion. According to him, illegal employment destroys legitimate jobs, prevents the creation of new jobs and, by non-payment of taxes and contributions to social insurance, it causes considerable financial losses for public spending. These bad practices are particularly widespread in hotel and restaurant enterprises, dry-cleaning establishments, transportation and taxi enterprises, and in the construction business. Firms of all sizes participate in it, "from firms with worldwide reputations down to a small trade business."

According to Franke, the striving for easy profit, the pressure of costs, and the competitive situation makes some entrepreneurs turn to illegal practices. On the other hand, more and more workers seem to "succumb to the temptation of earning an easy D-Mark, preferably without paying taxes and social contributions." To his knowledge, illegal employment is growing constantly, although the battle against it has been greatly intensified in recent times.

Franke mentioned as an example that lending out illegal employees was especially tempting because the customer has to charge up to DM60 per employee and manhour for his own, legally employed work force. Instead, he uses an illegal "lender" who charges DM25 to DM30 per worker and manhour, of which the loaned worker receives between DM15 and DM20, in an extreme case even only DM5 to DM8.

In the Federal Labor Office, 350 specially trained staff members concentrate on fighting illegal employment. In 29 labor offices, special offices are being established. All 146 labor offices have hired specialists to work on uncovering and prosecuting labor abuse and the illegal employment of foreigners. Franke confirmed that the Federal Institution for Labor would "continue on this road unswervingly."

Last year, the Federal Labor Office took up 213,400 cases of illegal employment of various magnitude, where a violation of the law was suspected. Compared with 1985, this represents an increase of 11.5 percent. In over 126,100 cases the suspicion was confirmed, so that the offenses were reported to the police, or fines were imposed, or at least warnings issued. The number of punishments increased by 19 percent compared to 1985; the fines came to a total of DM25.2 million. Compared to the previous year, the number of reports to the police rose by 12 percent to 19,800.

According to Franke, investigative work by the 29 special offices in the labor offices and the nine Land labor offices contributed so that other institutions, such as health insurances and tax collectors' offices, were able to make claims in the amount of more than DM130 million. But he also pointed out that, because of the cunning way in which lenders and borrowers proceed, investigative success in many cases can only be "achieved at great expenditure of personnel and time, and with great imagination."

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August 14, 1987

D.S.